

ISSN 0038-0903

SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series Vol. 21 2007



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From the *Solanus* Editorial Board and International Advisory Panel

With the publication of the present volume Dr Christine Thomas steps down as Editor of *Solanus* after nineteen years. As members of the journal's Editorial Board and its International Advisory Panel, we offer our warmest thanks to Chris for her untiring commitment to maintaining its character and standards. Her achievement can be gauged from the variety and quality of the contributions in the ten-year Index which appears elsewhere in this volume, and from the fact that—twenty-one years after its re-launch—it remains an international leader in its chosen fields of study. While looking forward to the future of *Solanus*, we also look back with great appreciation and affection on what Chris has done to bring scholars from across the world together in the service of research.

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Solanus is published by the School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University College London (SSEES UCL), Senate House, Malet Street,
London WC1E 7HU

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Typeset in Plantin and Times Cyrillic at Oxford University Computing Services
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Cover motif: Fedor Petrovich Tolstoi (1789–1823), 'Na reke'. Postcard.

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The Career of Father Mihail Çakir (1861–1938)— The Cyril and Methodius of the Gagauz^{*}

James Kapaló

Father Mihail Çakir is such a singular figure in the history of the Gagauz of Moldova that it is almost impossible to talk about Gagauz culture, literature, language, religion or historiography without mentioning his name. His pioneering work in these fields has earned him such honorific titles as *Aydın-nadıcı Ay-Boba* ('Holy Father Illuminator'), and 'The Cyril and Methodius of the Gagauz'. However, his legacy, although not openly contested, sits uneasily in the current cultural and political climate in *Gagauz Eri*, the newly created Gagauz autonomous region.¹ The ethnic and religious identity, shifting political status and geographical location of the Gagauz people influenced profoundly a career that resulted in Çakir making some pragmatic and quite dramatic shifts in allegiance between Tsarist Russia, Greater Romania (both of which decorated him for his services to the nation) and Kemalist Turkey. Çakir's status amongst the founding fathers of the Gagauz nation remains uncontested. However, as the various cultural camps within modern Gagauz society vie for political influence, specific aspects of his legacy are starting to be re-evaluated. Those who are pro-Russian and fervently 'Russian' Orthodox question the effect of his emphasis on Islamic origins and his pan-Turkic leanings, whilst those that seek a renaissance of Turkic culture amongst the slavicised Gagauz reconcile his fervent Orthodoxy with the nomadic tribal and Islamic Turkic cultures with difficulty. His expressions of solidarity with the Romanian nation are equally unpalatable for most Gagauz whose national identity is to a large extent defined by memories of Romanian oppression and assimilationist policies in the interwar years and the recent struggle for national autonomy against Moldovan hegemony.²

This article concentrates on two aspects of Çakir's prolific career; one relates to his role as a priest and a spiritual leader of his people, which is expressed

^{*} The fieldwork that enabled the completion of this article was partly funded by the Central Research Fund of the University of London and a SOAS Fieldwork Grant. I am grateful to Nicholas Luka and Stepan Bulgar for their assistance in compiling the bibliographical details of some of the rare volumes.

¹ Following a brief armed struggle and years of negotiations with the Moldovan government the Gagauz were granted wide-ranging territorial, cultural and political autonomy in 1994, which was adopted by the Moldovan Parliament in January 1995.

² The Gagauz still have strong memories of harsh treatment, especially during the war years (1941–1944). See P. Shornikov, 'Pod zheleznoi piatoi: sud'ba Gagauzkogo naroda v period rumyno-germanskoï okkupatsii Moldavii. 1941–1944 gg.', in *Etnogenez i etnicheskaia istoriia Gagauzov*, edited by S. Kuroglu (Chişinău, 2002), pp. 79–103.

mainly in his translation and publishing of Church texts in the Gagauz language, while the other concerns his writings on Gagauz religion and religious folklore written for a Romanian-speaking audience.³ Both of these areas touch on the delicate topic of his relationship to Turkey and Turkishness and also to the inter-war Romanian Church and intelligentsia.

Mihail Çakir was born in the small town of Çadır-Lunga in southern Moldova into a dynasty of Orthodox priests. The town and surrounding villages lie in the heart of the Bujac Steppe, one time home to the Nogai Tartars. During the course of the Russo-Turkish wars, in an effort to permanently secure the region for the Russian Empire, the Tsars invited colonists from the Bulgarian lands south of the Danube to settle the region, whilst at the same time evacuating the remaining Tartars to Ottoman Dobruja and the Crimea.⁴ Amongst the Christian settlers, who included Bulgarians, Serbs and Albanians, was an obscure ethnic group who referred to themselves as 'Bulgarian', but spoke a Balkan dialect of Turkish.⁵ The Gagauz, as they later officially became known,⁶ settled in a relatively compact territory in the centre of the steppe, which today falls mostly within the territory of the Republic of Moldova. In 1861, when Mihail Çakir was born, this region, known as Bessarabia, was a far-flung outpost of the Russian Empire at its south-westernmost tip.

Çakir began his education at the Spiritual School for Boys in the Bessarabian provincial capital of Chişinău, a long way from his native region, before going on to study at the Theological Seminary. He started his career

³ For a general overview of Çakir's career see the following: I. Şpac, 'Un credincios al basarabiei', *Luminatorul*, 5 (2001), pp. 34–54; S. Bulgar, *Iz istorii literatur Gagauzov XIX–nachalo XX vv.* (Chişinău, 2005); S. Bulgar, 'Iz istorii Pravoslaviia u Gagauzov', in *Istoriia i kul'tura Gagauzov*, edited by S. Bulgar (Chişinău, 2005), pp. 464–476.

⁴ The colonisation of the region took place mainly between 1776 and 1812, with most of the ethnically Gagauz settlements being founded in or around 1806. See O. Radova, 'Ethnic Identification of Transdanubian Migrants and the Gagauz Settling in the Budjak (The Late 18th–Early 19th Centuries)', *Eurasian Studies*, 13 (1998), pp. 54–69.

⁵ The fact that the Gagauz are Orthodox Christians is the reason for the intense interest that historians and ethnographers have shown in this group of Turkic speakers. Whilst settled within the Ottoman Empire their Christian identity tied them legally and administratively to their Orthodox Greek and Bulgarian neighbours. Their language is the closest Turkic language to the Turkish of modern Turkey and of the then Ottoman Empire. This dual identity, Christian on the one hand and Turkish-speaking on the other, has led to much speculation regarding their origins, not least amongst the Gagauz themselves. Gagauz historiography has therefore traditionally concentrated on the ethno-genesis of the Gagauz, key to which is a complicated history of migrations and settlement. For an overview of the various theories on the ethno-genesis and migrations of the Gagauz from a Turkish perspective, see H. Güngör and M. Argunsah, *Gagauzlar: Gagauz Türklerinin etnik yapısı, nüfusu, dili, dini, folkloru hakkında bir araştırma* (Istanbul, 1998), pp. 16–34. For a more detailed summary including the most recent theories see V. Shabashov, 'Etnogenez', in *Istoriia i kul'tura Gagauzov*, edited by S. Bulgar (Chişinău, 2006), pp. 8–43.

⁶ The Gagauz were first counted separately from their Bulgarian neighbours in 1897 at the suggestion of Russian ethnographer V. A. Moshkov. See Radova (note 4), p. 55.

as a teacher, later becoming priest of the Spiritual School in 1884 where he served, as well as in other churches in Chişinău, until 1919.⁷ From the beginning of his career he was concerned with the particular linguistic problems of education in the multi-ethnic Russian province, especially those experienced by the Moldovan majority in the linguistically Russian-dominated capital. After receiving official permission in 1896 to print religious books and Moldovan-language manuals he began publishing mainly educational material including his *Rusesc şi Moldovenesc cuvântelnic* (Russian and Moldavian Dictionary, 1907) and *Ajutorul moldovenilor când încep a învăţa limba rusă* (Help for Moldovans When They Begin to Study the Russian Language, 1911).⁸ Commenting on his work to help the Moldovan nation during a period which Moldovans regard as a period of intense russification by Church and state,⁹ one Romanian biographer writes of akir ‘he passed with dignity through the consequences of the politics and ideology of the time’.¹⁰ akir is thus credited with working with genuine conviction to improve the lot of the Moldovan nation.

With regard to his native people we can perhaps understand the inspiration for akir’s tireless campaign to translate Church literature into his mother tongue from some of the earliest reports we have about Orthodoxy amongst the Gagauz. An early indication of the lack of knowledge amongst the Gagauz of Russian comes from a nineteenth-century report referred to by Charles Upson Clark. He states: ‘We find a priest named Muranevitch complaining to the consistory that the peasants of Comrat [today the capital of Gagauzia] did not understand his preaching in Russian, and understood Roumanian better, although they are Bulgarians (Gagaoutz) and talk Turkish.’¹¹ The Russian ethnographer V. A. Moshkov, who spent several years at the close of the nineteenth century collecting ethnographic material amongst the Gagauz, writing in 1900, states: ‘The weakest element of Gagauz religious life is that the Church religious service is conducted in unknown languages, in Old Church Slavonic and Moldavian.’¹² Moshkov goes on to give us our first indication that the Gagauz themselves had a desire for the Church service to be made more intelligible to them. He came across examples of *Karamanlı* Turk-

⁷ Şpac (note 3), p.35.

⁸ N. F. Costesco, ‘Apostolul: Protoiereu Mihail Chiachir: (Nectolog)’, *Viaţa Basarabiei*, 10 (1938), pp. 65–68 (p. 65).

⁹ On russification and the issue of language use in the Church during this period see C. Upson Clark, *Bessarabia: Russia and Roumania on the Black Sea*, (New York, 1927), pp. 98–110 and N. Dima, ‘Politics and Religion in Moldova: A Case Study’, *The Mankind Quarterly*, 3 (1994), pp. 175–194 (pp. 181–184).

¹⁰ Şpac (note 3), p.36.

¹¹ Upson Clark (note 9), p. 103.

¹² V. Moshkov, *Gagauzy Benderskago Uezda—etnograficheskie ocherki i materialy* (Chişinău, 2004), p. 201.

ish Christian literature in Gagauz homes and reports it being used in some Church services. He explains that some priests encouraged the use of this literature to improve the ability of their parishioners to take part in the service, and also remarks on their delight at hearing the Lord's Prayer and the Creed recited in *Karamanlh*.¹³

Karamanlh is the name given to the Turkish-language literature written with Greek characters published from the early eighteenth through to the twentieth century in Istanbul and other centres around Europe, primarily to satisfy the desire of Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians of Anatolia and Istanbul for literature in their mother tongue.¹⁴ The language of this literature, despite its name, is generally not considered to be a separate language, or even a dialect distinct from Anatolian Turkish. However, it diverges quite considerably from the spoken Turkish idiom that is used by the Gagauz and was only partly intelligible to Gagauz readers.¹⁵ In his ethnographic monograph of the Gagauz Moshkov states in reference to the *Karamanlis*:

They print their own books in Turkish using Greek letters and these books, which they bring with them to sell in Bessarabia, attract the interest of the Gagauz. *Karamanlis* price their books very highly and for this reason rarely can the Gagauz afford to buy them but to those that have them they are worth their weight in gold.¹⁶

According to Russian linguist Liudmila Pokrovskaja, this literature had a significant influence on Gagauz religious terminology and was the source of all the Arabic and Persian religious terms that today constitute one third of the religious terminology of the modern Gagauz language.¹⁷ However, we know from the reports of Moshkov that *karamanlh* literature did not play a significant part in the liturgical life of the Church and that the books themselves, as well as those who were able to read them, were extremely rare. Nevertheless, Çakir himself would certainly have had access to this material and it may well have been his inspiration to begin the translations of Church texts.¹⁸

Çakir was made president of the 'Special Commission for Translation and Education of the Gagauz of Bessarabia' founded in 1906 in Chişinău, through which he was more or less single-handedly responsible for the translation of all the essential liturgical texts into the Gagauz language, which he sometimes

¹³ Ibid., p. 202.

¹⁴ For a full survey of *karamanlh* literature see E. Balta, 'Périodisation et typologie de la production des livres karamanli' in *Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman: Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, edited by F. Hitzel, 87–88 (1999), pp. 251–75.

¹⁵ L. Pokrovskaja, 'Musulmanskije elementy v sisteme khristianskoj religioznoj terminologii gagauzov', *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, 1 (1974), pp. 139–144, (pp. 142–143).

¹⁶ Moshkov (note 12), p. 202.

¹⁷ Pokrovskaja (note 15), pp. 139–144.

¹⁸ Bulgar, 'Iz istorii literatur Gagauzov XIX–nachalo XX vv.', in *Istoriia i kul'tura gagauzov*, edited by S. Bulgar (Chişinău, 2005), pp. 491–498 (p. 496).

referred to as *Eski Türkçä* or ‘Old Turkish’. In 1907 the Holy Synod of Archbishop Vladimir of Chişinău gave permission for his first translation works to be printed and distributed.¹⁹ This aspect of Çakir’s work has been little studied, and a definitive bibliography of the translations of religious texts that Çakir oversaw has yet to be produced. The information that is available is inexact and often contradictory.²⁰ Many of his works were printed in small numbers and at his own expense, and consequently some are extremely rare. The list that follows attempts to go some way to addressing this need. Titles are given as they appear in the original volumes (that is in either Gagauz, Russian, Romanian or a combination these languages) followed in parenthesis by the English translation, indication of the original script (Cyrillic or Latin) and the publication date (where available, full bibliographical details are given in the footnotes):²¹ *Vetkhii Zavet: Tserkovnaia Istoriia* (‘The Old Testament: History of the Church’, Cyrillic, 1907);²² *Kratkii Slaviano-Gagauzskii Molitvennik: Kısa dua kitabı, Slavänca (hem) Gagauzça* (‘Short Prayer Book, in Slavonic and Gagauzian’, Cyrillic, 1908);²³ *Evangelie Gagauzça Türkçä* (The Gospel in Gagauz Turkish, Cyrillic, 1909) (see. fig. 1); *Sviashchennaia Istoriia Novago Zaveta po Russki i Gagauzski (po Drevne-Tiuretski) Eni Baalantının Ayezlahı Istoriya Ruscha hem Gagauzça (Eski-Türkçä)* (‘The Holy History of the New Testament in Russian and Gagauzian’ (Old Turkish), Cyrillic, 1912);²⁴ *Liturgiia* (‘The Liturgy’, Cyrillic, 1911);²⁵ *Akafist: Djumledaniyoz Allahıdourana* (‘The Acathist’, Cyrillic, 1913);²⁶ *Ai (aiozlu) Evanghelieasâ hani Apostol Matfeidean eazâea ghecilmiş* (‘The Gospel According to St Matthew’, Latin, 1934);²⁷ *Dua Chitabâ Gagauzlar için* (‘Prayer Book for the Gagauz’,

¹⁹ M. Ciachir, *Basarabyalı Gagauzlarân Tarihi (Besarabialâ Gagauzlarân Istoriasâ)* (Niğde, 1998), p. 54.

²⁰ Şpac briefly discusses the problem of compiling bibliographical details of Çakir’s translation work. Şpac (note 3), pp. 43–45.

²¹ Russian is transliterated using the Library of Congress scheme. Gagauz Cyrillic script is transliterated into modern Gagauz Latin script using the transliteration scheme presented in the official guidelines on orthography and punctuation of the Gagauz language published by the Moldovan Ministry of Education in *Pravila orfografii i punktuatsii gagauzskogo iazyka* (Chişinău, 1995), p. 4.

²² These details are taken from a handwritten replacement title page to the original edition and may not be accurate.

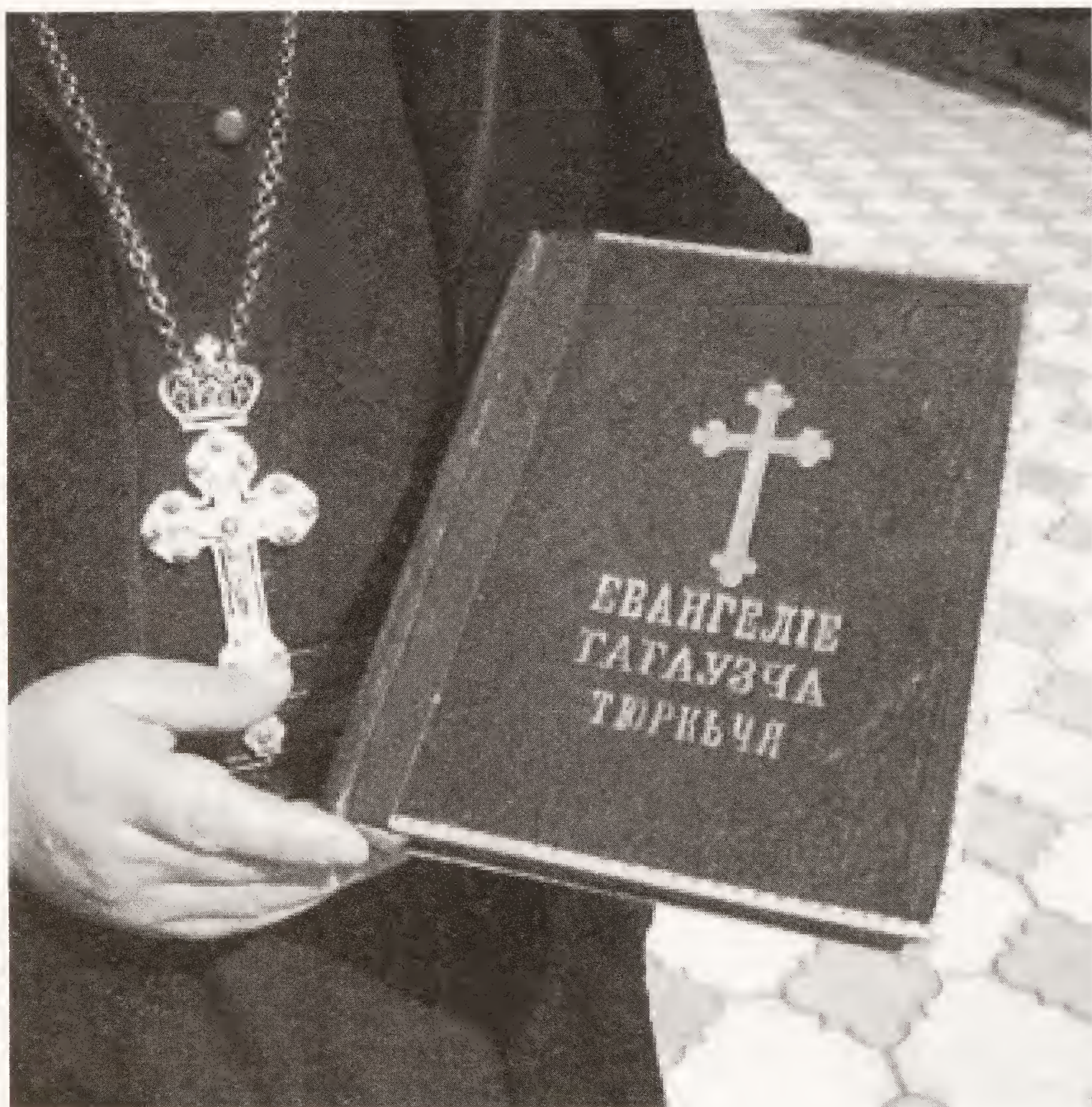
²³ *Kratkii Slaviano-Gagauzskii Molitvennik: Kısa dua kitabı: Slavänca (hem) Gagauzça*, (Chişinău, Hristosun Doumasının Doorusaltanathı Kışnoflu Kardaşlın Tiparı, 1908).

²⁴ *Liturgiia* (Chişinău, pechatano v Kishinevskoi Eparkhial’noi Tipografii, 1911).

²⁵ *Sviashchennaia Istoriia Novago Zaveta po Russki i Gagauzski (po Drevne-Tiuretski): Eni Baalantının Ayezlarlı İstoriya Ruscha hem Gagauzcha (Eski-Türkchia)*, (Chişinău, Eparkhialnaia Tipografiia, 1912).

²⁶ *Akafist: Djumledaniyoz Allahıdourana* (Chişinău, 1913).

²⁷ *Ai (aiozlu) Evanghelieasâ hani Apostol Matfeidean eazâea ghecilmiş* (Chişinău, Tipografia Eparhială—‘Cartea Românească’, 1934) (published in Latin script).



1. The 1909 edition of Çakir's translation of The Gospels.

Latin, 1935);²⁸ *Psaltir Găgăuzcea—(Tiurccea) Găgăuzlar için hem Tiurklear için* ('The Psalter in Gagauz Turkish for Gagauz and Turks', Latin, 1936) (see fig. 2).²⁹ In addition to the works listed above there are also references to publications of *Saatlar* ('Book of Hours'), *Molebin* ('Rituals') and 'The Gospel According to St Mark', none of which the author of this article has seen.³⁰ Not all of the work undertaken by Çakir and his committee reached publication stage. The author discovered manuscript copies of hitherto unknown translations amongst family documents in the village of Tomai, near to Çakir's hometown of Çadır-Lunga.³¹

Çakir's Church translations are significant for a number of reasons, not least because they are the first published texts in the Gagauz idiom of Moldova, thus making Çakir the first to devise a script for the Gagauz language. He initially used a Cyrillic script based on Russian for his Gagauz-language publications (Moldovan too used a Cyrillic script at this time). Only later, following the Romanian annexation of the territory in 1918, did he switch to a Latin-based system which closely mirrored the Romanian alphabet of the time.³² It would seem likely that Çakir was compelled to make this change by the Church. Across Moldova the use of the Romanian language in the Orthodox Church had been in decline, especially since the russification campaign of Archbishop Pavel Lebedev (1871–1882). By 1918, when the Archbishopric of Besarabia was integrated into the Romanian Orthodox Church and a clergy with pro-Romanian sentiments was once more in control of the Moldovan Church, many priests were unable to preach in Romanian,³³ a situation which the new Church authorities were keen to rectify. In a raft of anti-Russian measures the Church abandoned the use of the Cyrillic script (as did the state, which was now a province of Romania), the language of services was abruptly switched from Slavonic to Romanian and, in perhaps the most controversial move of all for ordinary believers, the Church adopted the Gregorian calendar,³⁴ bringing it into line with the rest of the Romanian Church. By the 1930s many Gagauz

²⁸ This is a second printing of the 1908 edition using Romanian Latin orthography: *Dua Chitabâ Gagauzlar için* (Chişinău, Tiparul Moldovenesc, 1935).

²⁹ *Psaltir Găgăuzcea—(Tiurccea) Găgăuzlar için hem Tiurklear için* (Chişinău, Tiparul Moldovenesc, 1936).

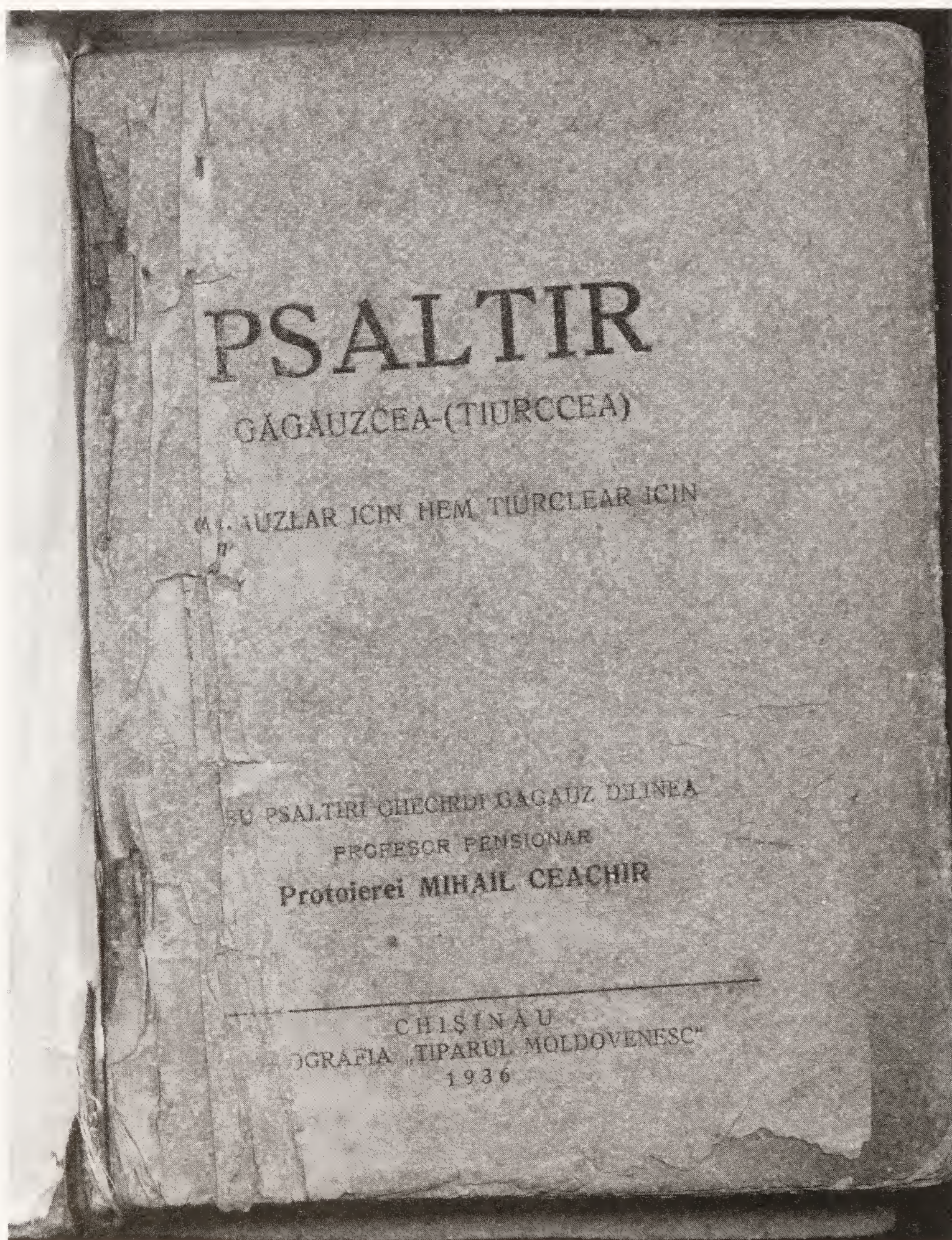
³⁰ See N. Özkan, *Gagavuz Türkçesi Grameri* (Ankara, 1996)p. 35; Şpac (note 3), p. 44, and *Basarabyalı Gagauzların Tarihi* (Niğde, 1998), back cover.

³¹ These manuscripts were found amongst translations of apocryphal texts that were not sponsored by the Church and were the work of independent peasant translators. I discuss the Gagauz tradition of translating apocryphal texts in my PhD thesis, working title 'Gagauz Popular Orthodoxy—Religious Agency on the Periphery'.

³² Çakir's Latin-based scripts are presented in Özkan (note 30), *Gagavuz Türkçesi Grameri*, p. 279.

³³ I. Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania* (Ithaca and London, 2000), p. 95; and Upson Clark (note 9), pp. 95–96.

³⁴ C. King, *The Moldovans* (Stanford, CA, 2000), p. 44; and Dima (note 9), p.182.



2. Çakir's 1936 edition of the Psalter published in Romanian Latin script.

villages had ethnic Moldovan Romanian-speaking priests who were extremely zealous in their attempts to promote the use of Romanian in the Church³⁵ and local schools.

Çakir, having been educated in Chişinău, where he mastered the Romanian language, was able to make this switch more readily than was his flock. Gagauz villagers, the majority of whom to this day have little or no grasp of the Romanian language, live in a region populated by colonists and where Russian operated (and continues to do so) as the *lingua franca* between the various ethnic communities of Gagauz, Bulgarians, Germans, Ukrainians and Moldovans. Despite some measurable successes in the promotion of the Romanian language in the official sphere,³⁶ villagers, who formed the vast majority of the Gagauz population, remained ninety per cent monoglot speakers of their Turkic idiom well into the twentieth century. The educated classes, mainly tradesmen and teachers, spoke Russian as a second language, Romanian coming a poor third.³⁷

Çakir was also responsible for the publication of the Gagauz-language Orthodox newspaper *Hakikatın Sesi* ('The Voice of Truth') and later in the 1930s wrote a history of the Gagauz.³⁸ Today, due to his efforts to create a Gagauz liturgical language and his prolific translation work, Mihail Çakir is honoured with the title 'Cyril and Methodius of the Gagauz', a comparison that was first drawn in 1931 with these words: 'Like the great service that Cyril and Methodius performed for the Slavs, you, in doing the same for us, have enlightened us.'³⁹ He has libraries and theatres named after him and is honoured annually in schools and colleges all over Gagauzia. In 2001, with the aid of the Gagauz community in Greece, Çakir's *Kısa Dua Kitabı* (Short Prayer Book) was republished.⁴⁰ The edition combines both the modern Gagauz Latin orthography and the Cyrillic orthography of the original 1908 edition (most Gagauz still find it easier to read the Cyrillic script) and was distributed freely in Churches around Gagauzia, making Çakir's work widely available for the first time in seventy years. None of Çakir's other translations of religious texts

³⁵ Elderly Gagauz still remember celebrating Christmas and New Year according to the Julian calendar in secret during the years of Romanian rule.

³⁶ King (note 34), p. 45.

³⁷ The exception being those young Gagauz that received their full education during the Greater Romania years. Many of my Gagauz informants born in the 1930s retained a good command of Romanian that they had acquired in Romanian schools.

³⁸ First published in the journal *Viața Basarabiei* in the Romanian language in two parts under the title 'Origina Găgăuzilor' (M. Ciachir, 'Origina Găgăuzilor', in *Viața Basarabiei*, no. 9 (1933), pp. 15–24, and M. Ciachir, 'Origina Găgăuzilor', in *Viața Basarabiei*, no. 5 (1934), pp. 3–20), it was later published in Gagauzian as: *Besarabială Gagauzların İstorieasa*, (Chisinau, 1934), and most recently in Turkish under the title *Basarabyalı Gagauzların Tarihi* (Niğde, 1998).

³⁹ Ciachir, 'Basarabyalı' (note 19), p. 56.

⁴⁰ *Kısa dua kitabı Gagauzça* (Thessalonica, Ortodoksos Kipseli, 2001).

have been republished for popular consumption.⁴¹ It is precisely these efforts on Çakir's part to evangelise his own people for the Russian Church that brought him into the orbit of the wider Turkish-speaking world.

The idiom that Çakir used for his translations is suffused with many Arabic and Persian terms and his phraseology seems to betray the use of Turkish and possibly *karamanlı* sources (referred to above).⁴² Çakir's linguistic preference for Turkish sources in his translations was also reflected in his politics in the decades that followed. Following the First World War Bessarabia was incorporated into Greater Romania, which had an interest in steering the Gagauz away from their pro-Russian sympathies towards a sponsor nation the Romanian government considered more congenial, in the shape of Kemalist Turkey. In the inter-war period, the Turkish government and intellectuals showed great interest in the Turkic peoples of the Soviet Union and the neighbouring countries. Their Pan-Turkist ideology was based on the desire to see all Turkic-speaking peoples of the world united into one great civilisation. The aid that Turkey began to offer to the Turks and Tartars of Romanian Dobruja in the sphere of education and culture was also extended to the Gagauz. For the secular Turkish government and the pan-Turkic activists of the 1920s and 1930s the Christian religion of the Gagauz was no obstacle to close brotherly ties.

By the 1930s Çakir had formed a close connection with Hamdulla Suphi Tanrıöver, the Turkish ambassador to Romania, and they travelled to Gagauz villages together to meet children who would later be sent on Turkish state scholarships to study in Istanbul. At this time school teachers trained in the newly opened Muslim medrese in Medgigia in Romania (funded by Turkey) were sent to every Gagauz village to teach Turkish and, according one Gagauz historian, 'to spread the pan-Turkic ideology'.⁴³ News of Çakir's translation of the liturgy and his 'History of the Gagauz' also reached Turkey and was reported in the Istanbul press where he was praised for his pan-Turkist credentials in the newspaper *Vakit*, which reported in 1943:

There is a 73-year-old priest in Bessarabia who has not only produced books in Turkish for the Gagauz people but who pays with his own money for their publication and works himself to distribute them, he worked like an apostle.⁴⁴

The Turkish government at the time was also keen to foster a close relation-

⁴¹ There have been some local Church initiatives to copy and distribute Çakir's works. The author's copy of Çakir's *Eni baalantının Ayozları İstoriyası* was reprinted by Eyisözlük Monastırın 'Örtmesi Dzhumledänayöz Allahıduuduranın', Goloseevo (Kiev, 2000).

⁴² Bulgar, 'İz istorii literatur gagauzov' (note 18), p. 496.

⁴³ S. Bulgar, 'Türkiye' Gelen 1934–1940-cı Yillarda Gagauz Üürenicileri', *Sabaa Yıldızı*, 13 (2000), pp. 16–26 (p. 17).

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.18.

ship between the Gagauz and Turkey's own tiny Turkish-speaking Orthodox minority, which under the nationalist hierarch Papa Eftimi had broken away from the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch to form the Independent Turkish Orthodox Church.⁴⁵ Turkey hoped that the Gagauz could be persuaded to accept the Turkish Orthodox Patriarch as head of their Church in order to bolster membership of the Church and so increase its legitimacy.⁴⁶

Despite these early efforts by Çakir in the interwar years to introduce the Gagauz language into Church services it did not become a common feature in Gagauz villages until the 1990s. During the 1920s and 1930s the Romanian language replaced Church Slavonic wholesale in the Church and Liturgy in the Gagauz settlements of southern Moldova. Çakir's efforts to educate his own people in the Orthodox faith now had to be supplemented with another mission: to enlighten the intelligentsia and ruling classes of Romania regarding their newly acquired minority, the Gagauz. Along with their Bulgarian neighbours, the Gagauz were considered highly suspect minorities in Romanian eyes and not without some cause.⁴⁷ Unlike Moldovans, they had no historical allegiance or sense of ethnic solidarity with Romania and were decidedly hostile to Romanian rule, something which Romania hoped to address with cultural propaganda aimed at Romanianizing both the minorities and the majority Moldovans alike.⁴⁸ Given these circumstances it is no surprise that the Gagauz were also in need of some positive propaganda of their own.

During the 1930s Çakir frequently contributed articles on Gagauz religious life and folklore to the Romanian language journal *Viața Basarabiei*.⁴⁹ In these articles Çakir represents Gagauz religiosity as something distinct, a blend between devout Orthodox Christianity, which they practice 'to the point of fanaticism',⁵⁰ and nostalgia for a shared Turkic and even Muslim heritage! Several elements of Gagauz religion are identified by Çakir as symbols of this dual identity, including the custom of *Kurban* animal sacrifice, the tradition

⁴⁵ See E. Cihangir, *Papa Eftim'in Muhtıraları ve Bağımsız Türk Ortodoks Patrikhanesi* (Istanbul, 1996).

⁴⁶ Representatives of the Independent Turkish Orthodox Church have tried again in recent years to attract Gagauz priests to move to Istanbul and join their Church. So far these moves have been unsuccessful. On connections between the Turkish Independent Orthodox Church and the Gagauz see Y. Aygil, *Hristiyan Türklerin Kısa Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1995).

⁴⁷ See Livezeanu (note 33), p. 99.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 100–113.

⁴⁹ Six articles were published in total between 1934 and 1936. These are: 'Religiositatea găgăuzilor', *Viața Basarabiei*, 3 (1934), pp. 21–28; 'Obiceiurile religioase ale găgăuzilor: Curbanele său sacrificiele', *Viața Basarabiei*, 6 (1934), pp. 4–8; 'Obiceiurile religioase ale găgăuzilor din Basarabia: II. Obiceiuri la naștere și botez', *Viața Basarabiei*, 7–8 (1934), pp. 37–40; 'Moralitatea Găgăuzilor din Basarabia', *Viața Basarabiei*, 2 (1935), pp. 36–42; 'Dreptatea la Găgăuzii din Basarabia', *Viața Basarabiei*, 10 (1935), pp. 11–14; 'Obiceiurile Găgăuzilor la nunți', *Viața Basarabiei*, 3–4 (1936), pp. 41–44.

⁵⁰ Çakir, 'Religiositatea' (note 49), p. 21.

of designating sacrificial animals from birth as *Allahlık* or 'of Allah', as well as the high proportion of Arab and Persian words in their religious terminology. However, it is Çakir's interpretation of the Gagauz tradition of *Hac*, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem rather than Mecca, that offers us the clearest example of his political expediency in regard to Romanian sensibilities.

The use of the term *Hac* amongst Christians is not peculiar to the Gagauz. By the Muslim Turks of the Ottoman Empire the term *Hac* was reserved for the pilgrimage to Mecca, the duty of all Muslims to perform once in their lifetime. The term *Haci*, one who has performed *Hac*, however, was not restricted to those that had performed Muslim *Hac*, but was also used to refer to Christians who had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The term *Hac* also entered the Greek and Bulgarian languages where it came to mean pilgrimage in general, and the honorific terms of *Haci*, for a man, and *Hacika*, for a woman, were used both for Muslims and Christians who had been on pilgrimage. Therefore it should not be surprising that the term is also applied by the Turkic-speaking Gagauz to their own pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

However, there is another dimension altogether that should be considered when discussing the Gagauz tradition of *Hac*, which relates to their status as members of the Russian Church and citizens of the Russian Empire. As such the Gagauz travelled to the Holy Land on Russian passports and, living close to one of the main ports of departure for Russian and Ukrainian pilgrims at Odessa, formed part of a wider group of pilgrims headed for the Levant. From the time of the treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 Russia won free access to the Holy Land for Russian pilgrims. As Russian interest in the future of the Ottoman possessions in Palestine increased, Russia employed the Church as a way of advancing her political interests in the region.⁵¹ Part of this strategy involved making better provision for the care and safety of her pilgrims and in the 1840s she secured the use of two Greek monasteries, St Catherine's and St Theodore's in Jerusalem. She also put pressure on the Sultan to issue a decree to the Governor of Saida, which included Jerusalem and Palestine, making the governor responsible for the protection of all Christians, including the Russian pilgrims.⁵² Russia was using her standing in the Orthodox world to claim the guardianship of all the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire, including the Arab and Syrian Churches. For several years Russia's highest representative in Jerusalem was a cleric, Archimandrite Porfirii, who besides his very earnest attempts to improve the lot of Arab Christians in the Greek-dominated Church, also had to be the eyes and ears of the Russian Foreign Ministry.⁵³ Despite the frequent wars and stand-offs between Russia and the

⁵¹ T. Stavrou, *Russian Interests in Palestine 1882–1914* (Thessalonica, 1963), p. 25.

⁵² D. Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843–1914* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 14–15.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Ottomans throughout the nineteenth century, very many pilgrims still made the journey to Jerusalem. However, it was following the visit of the Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevich to Palestine in 1859 that the Russian sponsorship of pilgrimage to Jerusalem became more active. Encouraging large numbers of Russian citizens to perform pilgrimage to the Holy Land was seen as a way of increasing Russian visibility in Palestine, without drawing attention to her political ambitions, at a time when she was very wary of arousing the suspicions of the other great powers as regards her interests in the Middle East. As early as 1840 the British consul wrote in a letter to Lord Palmerston: 'The pilgrims from Russia have been heard to speak openly of the period when this country will be under the Russian government.'⁵⁴ In the mind of the Russian peasant the Holy Land and Holy Russia were one and would be united politically as well as spiritually. Thus there was a strong interest in keeping the pilgrims, clergy and donations flowing into the Holy Land. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Russian pilgrimage and Mission were at their peak and it seemed to the other great powers that Russia was pouring inexhaustible funds into her mission, schools and hostels.

All of this was to be nipped in the bud by the First World War and the 1917 revolution. The interests of the Russian Church and of Russia's new secular government could no longer operate in tandem regarding policy towards the Holy Land. Russia's territorial losses also put an end to the Gagauz tradition of *Hac*. In the turmoil that followed the revolution pilgrimage became unthinkable. The economic situation was dire and by April 1918 Russia was forced to cede Bessarabia to Romania. The Gagauz now found themselves as part of the Greater Romanian State, cut off from the Russian port of Odessa and no longer members of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Çakir's grasp of Russian foreign policy regarding Palestine may not have been complete, but as a representative of her Church he was certainly aware that of all the European peoples it was Russia that had strongest tradition of pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, in terms of numbers, the strongest presence there. Çakir had a politically expedient reason for overlooking the Russian roots of Gagauz pilgrimage in favour of a more exotic and altogether less uncomfortable aspect (in Romanian eyes) of Gagauz religiosity.

From the very beginning of his career as a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church Çakir worked for the betterment of his people. The Church texts he translated are still the only officially recognised translations of the Church canon and are now finally being widely used in Church services in *Gagauz Eri*. However, political changes meant that Çakir's career would entail him changing Church and allegiance in the hope of working further for his people. In the delicate political climate of the inter-war period in Romania Çakir was obliged

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

to slant his articles on Gagauz religion, as part of an attempt to interpret the history and culture of his people to a new and somewhat hostile audience. This is perhaps why he portrayed their *Hac* as a custom borrowed from Islam and the inheritance of their Turkish past. Somewhat ironically therefore the man that is today hailed as the Cyril and Methodius of the Gagauz seemed at one point to be leading his people away from their Russian Orthodox brothers and into the arms of Kemalist Turkey.

Through his dual mission to strengthen the Orthodox faith of his people while fervently championing Gagauz Turkishness we can see how Çakir represents a synthesis of the dichotomous aspects of Gagauz identity: fervent attachment to Russian Orthodoxy and Mother Russia on the one hand and linguistic kinship with Islamic Turkey on the other. However, this synthesis, personified in Çakir, is fraught with tensions that are still present in the social and cultural fabric of contemporary Gagauz society. Many Gagauz are uncomfortable with the increasing Turkish influence and presence in *Gagauz Eri*, not least because of the associations with Islam that it brings with it.⁵⁵ The history of this connection leads directly back to Çakir himself. The pro-Turkish element in the political and cultural leadership, on the other hand, have difficulty embracing fully the Orthodox Christian heritage of the Gagauz, of which Çakir is the most tangible representative, since this is seen as something that divides the Gagauz from Turks rather than strengthening the relationship. In the current economic and political climate in Moldova the Gagauz cling most strongly to their historic and cultural connections with Russia, something which Çakir over his long career was compelled at least not to emphasise, and which he may even have weakened.

Mihail Çakir died in 1938, before the war that would lead to the Russian re-annexation of Bessarabia, which was promptly followed by Romanian invasion and re-occupation, and finally incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1945. Only in 1992, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, did the Gagauz become part of an independent Moldova.

In time, independence and Gagauz autonomy may allow for a more objective re-evaluation of Çakir's legacy and the customary words of comfort at Gagauz burials, *Topracınız ilin olsun* (May the soil rest lightly),⁵⁶ used in a report on the rediscovery of his grave in the Old Cemetery in Chişinău in 2000, might finally hold true for Mihail Çakir.

⁵⁵ Many Moldovans remain ignorant of even the most basic facts about the Gagauz minority, even down to their Christian heritage.

⁵⁶ The original report was reprinted in *Ana Sözü*, a Gagauz language-weekly newspaper, five years later: T. Zanet, 'Mihail Çakirin Mezarı 5 yıl Geeri Bulundu', *Ana Sözü*, 30 April 2005, p. 3.

The Papers of Vladimir Nikolaevich Tukalevskii (1881–1936) in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF): a Review Essay

O. N. Il'ina

One of the aspects of bibliographical scholarship with most potential today is the study of the history of librarianship in expatriate Russia and of the contribution made by Russian specialists to the development of librarianship in other countries. Research into the work of Russian émigrés in librarianship and bibliography is of particular interest. Information about our compatriots who became librarians and bibliographers in the emigration has until now been extremely meagre and fragmentary.¹ They came to the library profession by various paths and their destinies evolved in diverse ways abroad. For some librarianship was a matter of necessity or accident, for others it was a vocation. The name of the writer, editor, journalist, member of the co-operative movement, librarian and bibliophile, Vladimir Nikolaevich Tukalevskii is undoubtedly one of those whose contribution to librarianship is worthy of particular examination.

Tukalevskii's life and fate, while in many respects typical for a Russian émigré, reflect the character traits of a fundamentally contradictory and complex personality, combining, in a remarkable manner, idealism and individual enlightened romanticism with an ability to manage his material well-being under any circumstances; undoubted organisational skills were combined with a bibliographer's meticulousness, a bibliophile's passion and a determination to preserve any written evidence for posterity. Although his biography might be a basis for both a political thriller and a sentimental romance, the man's fate was, in truth, extremely tragic. Much still remains unclear in Vladimir Nikolaevich's biography, and some facts in his life do not fit at all the stereotypical view of Russian émigrés.² The study of his life and complex career based on published and archival sources will undoubtedly be useful for recreating the

¹ Exceptions are few. Apart from a number of publications on the work of the Turgenev Library in Paris and the library-bibliographical work of Russian émigrés in the Far East, one might mention E. G. Pivovarov's book *A. B. Babin (1866–1930)* (St Petersburg, 2002), and also his article on S. Jacobson, 'Atakuiushchii bibliotekar' in *Berega: informatsionno-analiticheskii sbornik o russkom zarubezh'e* (St Petersburg, 2004), vyp. 3, pp. 21–25.

² For example, he protested against the award of the Nobel Prize to I. A. Bunin, maintained close ties with Soviet representatives in Prague, and published his articles in Soviet newspapers. See, for example, his article 'Sovetskaia nauka i Evropa', in *Izvestiia*, 12 December 1935, that gave the clearest reflection of his position as regards USSR cultural policy. And, furthermore, Tukalevskii's material situation as an émigré was incomparably better than that of other representatives of the scholarly emigration.

history of Russian emigration in the First World War. His political activity is particularly interesting, especially during his first period of emigration in Finland where he was the representative and Finnish correspondent of the Social Revolutionary *Volia Rossii*, and member of its Administrative Centre. No less interesting are Tukalevskii's relations with representatives of the *Zemgor*³ (during his Prague period), his assessment of the activity of the organisation and a number of its representatives. And of course, the tragic events of the man's last year of life as a consequence of political trials in the USSR that left their mark on his posthumous destiny are worthy of the closest scrutiny by historians. However, all these events in Tukalevskii's life and the direction of his career will only be touched upon in passing in the present review. Its main aim will be to impart information about archival sources that might be used for interpreting his career as librarian and bibliographer.

The figure of Tukalevskii is noteworthy and significant for the history of librarianship in expatriate Russia. He is famous, above all, as one of the founders of the Slavonic Library in Prague. However, in the literature, information about him and his career as director of the Slavonic Library, and about his large personal library that became part of its Russian collections, is minimal. The published sources for a study of his life and career are few. At present there are no special studies of his work as librarian. Limited information about him may be found in works on the history of the Slavonic Library.⁴ An exhibition devoted to Tukalevskii was organised in the Slavonic Library in 2003, which showed items about his life. A general article by A. Koprshilova in the Paris journal *Russkoe slovo* simply gives the basic facts of his life and career.⁵ In Tukalevskii's recently published letters to A. V. Igel'strom, he tells his correspondent about the library which he directed, as well as giving a description of émigré life.⁶ An article by O. Il'ina and M. Magidova gives a short account of Vladimir Nikolaevich's personal library based on a study of archival sources and the library's catalogue.⁷ General articles on the Inter-

³ The *Zemgor*, Union of Russian Rural and Municipal Officials in the Czechoslovak Republic, had been founded in Prague by Social Revolutionary émigrés on 17 March 1921 to organise aid for refugees and émigrés from Russia. It remained active until 1935. See E. P. Serapionova, *Pražskii Zemgor i ego deiatel'nost': russkaia, ukrainskaia i belorusskaia emigratsiia v Chekhoslovakii mezhdru dvumia mirovymi voynami* (Prague, 1995), pp. 597–606.

⁴ See, for example, Zdeněk Sládek, 'Russkaia i ukrainskaia emigratsiia v Chekhoslovakii', in *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie*, 1991, no. 6, p. 33; Jiří Vacek, 'Fondy ruskogo zarubezh'ia v prazhskoi Slavianskoi biblioteke', in *Zarubezhnaia Rossiia, 1917–1939* (St Petersburg, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 417–18.

⁵ Anast. Koprshivova, 'Opasnye sviazi', in *Russkoe slovo* (Prague, 2003), no. 40 (September), pp. 28–29.

⁶ V. Iu. Cherniaev, 'Finliandskie nakhodki: pis'ma V. N. Tukalevskogo, I. V. Shklovskogo (Dioneo) i V. M. Zenzinova direktoru Russkoi biblioteki Gel'singforsa A. V. Igel'stromu (1924–1927)', in *Berega: informatsionno-analiticheskii sbornik o russkom zarubezh'e* (St Petersburg, 2005), vyp. 5, pp. 29–39.

⁷ O. N. Il'ina and M. Magidova, 'Lichnaia biblioteka V. N. Tukalevsogo v Slavianskoi bib-

net are devoted to tragic events in his life.⁸ One of the Internet publications on Tukalevskii begins: 'Vladimir Nikolaevich Tukalevskii, the subject of this article, was born to be of service to people and disseminate rational, eternal truths which he enjoyed doing throughout his life, until he was caught (an émigré abroad!) by the Moscow trials of revolutionaries who had become "enemies of the people". Everything was grabbed and stripped away: his honour, service and his very life. The machine of repression crushed him and, without braking for a split second, careered onwards . . . On a quiet August morning in 1936 Tukalevskii, the respected curator of the Russian section of the Slavonic Library in Prague, was suddenly to wake up as a Gestapo agent and one of the negative persons in the cruel trial taking place in distant Moscow.'⁹

After Tukalevskii had been dubbed a Gestapo collaborator at the Zinov'iev–Kamenev trial in Moscow, his life and career collapsed overnight. His explanations were disregarded and he was dismissed from his post. He was banished from the Slavonic Library on full pay in October 1936 until the end of the year. He submitted an appeal to the Foreign Ministry of Czechoslovakia, drawing attention to the catastrophic situation to which malicious libel had brought him. But all efforts to restore his good name were in vain and he died a few months later. Jan Slavík, the Czech historian, at that time the director of the Russian Archive of Foreign History (RZIA) in Prague, aware that the accusation was baseless, wrote in connection with Tukalevskii's death: 'Whatever the result of this scandalous hearing, Tukalevskii's contribution to the creation of the Slavonic Library, one of the most remarkable cultural assets of our state, remains immense.'¹⁰ Of interest in this regard is A. L. Bem's evidence on Vladimir Nikolaevich's last days and his role in the creation of the Slavonic Library: 'V. N. Tukalevskii, whom I often met in the Slavonic Library, died a natural death, yet in tragic circumstances. His name had been embroiled in a Moscow show trial and his position became intolerable. He was floored by this and died in hospital at a moment when everyone had turned their backs on him. I remember that, on meeting each other in a tram shortly before his illness, his whole face lit up when I approached him as usual and struck up a conversation. Vladimir Nikolaevich in Prague was not the same man that we had known in Petersburg; life and the struggle for existence had left their mark on him,—he had sought and obtained a position by means which were alien to me. But it is to him that we are indebted for the creation in Prague of a Russian section in the Slavonic Library incomparable for its range, and for

lioteke v Prage', in *XX vek: Dve Rossii—odna kul'tura: sbornik nauchnykh trudov. Po materialam 14-kh Smirdinskikh chtenii* (St Petersburg, 2006), pp. 336–47.

⁸ Vladimir Tukalevskii, istoriia, biografiia. <http://www.allabout.ru/a5059.html>; A. Sinen'kii, 'Oskolok imperii unizhtozhili i ne zametili', *Ytro.Ru*.

⁹ Sinen'kii (note 8).

¹⁰ Vacek (note 4), p. 418.

that he may be pardoned to a great extent.’¹¹ Later V. N. Tukalevskii’s name appears extremely rarely in sources on the history of the Slavonic Library and his role in its foundation is still not fully appreciated: the principal cause has been the impact of those Moscow court proceedings of long ago. The most significant and informative source for researching the life and work of V. N. Tukalevskii is his archive in the Russian Archive of Foreign History (RZIA) in GARF.

Let us preface our review of Tukalevskii’s archive with short biographical information and basic details about his family circumstances. His wife, Nadezhda Nikolaevna Tukalevskaia, on her mother’s side came from the family of N. P. Vagner (1829–1907), professor of biology and author, known by the pen-name ‘Kot-Murlyka’. It may be supposed that it was thanks to his wife and mother-in-law that Tukalevskii’s personal library contained a part of N. Vagner’s personal book collection, in particular books with dedications to him from famous poets and writers. In Petersburg Nadezhda Nikolaevna had been an actress in Komissarzhevskia’s theatre and the Theatre of Musical Drama. During her émigré years after the death of Tukalevskii she worked in the office of the newspaper *Vozrozhdenie* in Paris and knew Marina Tsvetaeva. It was to her that Tsvetaeva entrusted her manuscripts on her return to Russia. In turn, their daughter, Tamara Tukalevskaia, a poet and artist, was a participant in the famous Prague ‘Skit poetov’ headed by A. L. Bem. Tamara also knew Marina Tsvetaeva whose personality and works left a deep impact on the consciousness of the young poet.¹² Tamara Tukalevskaia’s first husband, Il’ia Golub, an assistant in the Russian Archive of Foreign History, and bibliographer in the Slavonic Library, died in a Fascist concentration camp.¹³

Throughout his entire life Tukalevskii had been linked with books and libraries, beginning in his early student days. One might say that it was books and libraries that mainly determined the destiny of the man. Vladimir Nikolaevich Tukalevskii was born in Poltava in 1881 and it was here that he completed his secondary education; from 1900 to 1905 he was a student at the Physics and Mathematics Faculty of Kiev University and at the Agricultural Department of the Kiev Polytechnic Institute. But he did not complete his studies at these institutions of higher education as a result of their closure following student unrest. Even during his student days in Kiev he worked as a publicist in the press, was secretary to the editorial board of the magazine *Zemledelie* and

¹¹ ‘Pis’ma A. L. Bema i S. P. Mel’gunova V. V. Miiakovskomu, publikatsiia i primechaniia G. Kurasa, [vstupitel’naia stat’ia] M. Raefa’, in *Novyi zhurnal* (New York, 2003), vol. 231, p. 131.

¹² See: ‘Tamara Vladimirovna Tukalevskaia’ (Kratkaia biografiia), in *Skit* (Prague 1922–1940); *Antologiia. Biografiia. Dokumenty* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 580–82.

¹³ See on him ‘Takovo litso novogo zhurnala: I. D. Golub’ i ego retsenziia na zhurnal “Bibliotekovedenie i bibliografiia”’, predislavie i podgotovka teksta, primechaniia I. G. Khomiakova, in *Bibliografiia* (1999) no. 4, pp. 112–18.

the daily newspaper *Kievskie okliki*, and took part in the organisation of public libraries founded by the Kiev Literacy Society. As personal documents bear witness, even as a student in Kiev, Tukalevskii was involved in the organisation of popular libraries. In particular he worked in the section reviewing books for popular libraries in the Kiev Literacy Society, participated in the 'Literature for the People' collections and organised a library for workers' children in one of the Kiev suburbs.¹⁴ It was then too that his bibliophilic aspirations were formed: he began to build a personal collection which was to grow over many years in Russia and in emigration.

From 1908 to 1911 Tukalevskii was a student at the History-Philology Faculty of Petersburg University where, under the direction of Professor V. V. Sipovskii, he pursued research into eighteenth-century literary and social movements, working actively in the archives of Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev. His main research at the time was on Lomonosov, Novikov and the history of Russian freemasonry. His most famous work was *Iskaniia russkikh masonov: N. I. Novikov i I. G. Shvarts* in the collection *Masonstvo v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem* (Moscow, 1914).¹⁵ Tukalevskii was prominent in the historical-philological circles of Petersburg, above all as a researcher into the Masonic movement.¹⁶ His works on freemasonry, because they are so solidly based on original sources, have still not lost their significance and are still referred to and quoted.

In Petersburg it was his destiny to meet many famous historians of the book, bibliographers and literary historians: A. G. Fomin, A. L. Bem, Vs. I. Sreznevskii, etc. Tukalevskii collaborated with Bem as well as with V. I. Sreznevskii in the Tolstoi Museum, and was a council member of the Tolstoi Museum Society. From 1913 he participated in the preparation of the Tolstoi *Ezhegodniki*, and the *Opisanie Tolstovskogo muzeia* was prepared by him together with V. I. Sreznevskii.¹⁷ The work won high praise from specialists in the field and was reviewed in periodicals such as *Russkoe bogatstvo*, *Vestnik*

¹⁴ GARF. f. 5777. op. 1. no. 1. V. N. Tukalevskii's personal file. Contains details of Tukalevskii's participation in the work of various institutions, organisations and periodicals.

¹⁵ V. N. Tukalevskii, *Iskaniia russkikh masonov (Iz istorii filosofskikh napravlenii v russkom obshchestve XVIII veka)* (St Petersburg, 1911); V. N. Tukalevskii, 'N. I. Novikov i I. G. Shvarts', in *Masonstvo v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem* (Moscow, 1914), vol. 1, pp. 213–18.

¹⁶ Revealing are the requests to him from colleagues to confirm some details or other about the Masonic movement. G. V. Vernadskii writes in a letter to Tukalevskii; 'I have known about you for some time thanks to your interesting research into the history of Russian freemasonry' (G. V. Vernadskii's letter to V. N. Tukalevskii, GARF. f. 5777. op. 1, no. 572); A. L. Bem, approaching him with a request, joked: '... since you, Vladimir Nikolaevich, have been so closely involved with mystical sectarians, aren't I, a confirmed rationalist, in need of help' (A. L. Bem's letter to V. N. Tukalevskii, *ibid.*, no. 554).

¹⁷ V. I. Sreznevskii and V. N. Tukalevskii, *Tolstovskii muzei v S-Peterburge. Opisanie muzeia* (St Petersburg, [Obshchestvo Tolstovskogo muzeia], 1912). 190pp.; *Tolstovskii Muzei v S.-Peterburge: Kratkoe opisanie*, compilers V. N. Sreznevskii and V. N. Tukalevskii (St Petersburg, 1914). 54pp.

Evropy, Novoe vremia, etc. Its bibliographical appendix was particularly thorough. In his review of the editorial activity of Tolstoi societies, Bem noted that the work 'apart from its significance as an aid for a review of the Museum's collections, also has a lasting value thanks to the interesting material contained in the text and particularly in the appendices'.¹⁸ He was referring to the significant dates in Tolstoi's biography, the list of literature on Tolstoi and the list of periodicals containing news of his illness and death. In the bibliographical environment of Petersburg Tukalevskii developed a particular attitude to the book: he assiduously followed new literature, studied carefully the bibliographical sources, frequently published critical-bibliographical notes and reviews, and in particular took part in the organisation and work of the critical-bibliographical journal *Kniga* (1906–1907) in which he published reviews of new literature.

Besides his research into literary history and archival bibliography, Tukalevskii took an active interest in the problems of small loans: from 1911 to 1918 he was an employee for the Small Loans for Business Section of the State Bank, a contributor to the journals *Splotchina*, *Kooperatsiia*, secretary to the editorial board of *Khronika uchrezhdenii melkogo kredita*, editor-in-chief of the journal *Vestnik melkogo kredita* from 1915, and from 1917 editor of the journal *Vestnik kooperativnogo kredita* published by the Moscow National Bank.

In 1918 Tukalevskii left Petersburg with his family for Terioki where he had his own house, and lived in Finland until the end of 1923. There he continued his journalism and his work for the community: he managed the agency 'Politicheskie izvestiia', was a correspondent for Western European newspapers and journals, took an active part in émigré publications, was one of the organisers of a Russian school and scout camps for the children of Russian refugees and participated in international cooperative congresses.

During this time Vladimir Nikolaevich was an active collaborator with well-known literary-critical periodicals of the Russian emigration. His critical-bibliographical reviews of the latest literature and new literary research were published in the critical-bibliographical journal *Novaia russkaia kniga*.¹⁹ He maintained links with foreign Russian publishers: for example, he supplied a biographical study for a collection of Lermontov's works by the Berlin publisher 'Slovo'.²⁰

The journalistic, publishing and critical works of the Finnish period of his life were also linked in a great measure with the book. He was able to take

¹⁸ A. L. Bem, 'Tolstovskie obshchestva i ikh izdatel'skaia deiatel'nost', in A. L. Bem, *K istorii izucheniia Tolstogo* (Petrograd, 1916), Bibliograficheskii sbornik, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 19.

¹⁹ See, for example, Vl. Tukalevskii, 'Soderzhanie novoi literatury', in *Novaia russkaia kniga*, 1922, no. 6, pp. 1–3.

²⁰ V. N. Tukalevskii, 'M. Iu. Lermontov (Biograficheskii ocherk)', in M. Iu. Lermontov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Berlin, 1921), vol. 1, pp. v–xxxii.

his large personal library to Finland and took the initiative in rescuing some book collections of Russian émigrés, acting as an intermediary for their acquisition by European repositories.²¹ Vladimir Nikolaevich continually kept up with what was being published in Russian in Russia and abroad. He was, for example, the editor of *Osvedomitel'nyi biulleten'*, which contained a digest of articles from Soviet newspapers.²² This period fully determined the side of Tukalevskii's work that found expression in his efforts to preserve and develop cultural links between Russia and the emigration. The necessity of conserving the unity of the development of Russian culture was obvious to Tukalevskii.

Many prominent scholars and public figures of the Russian emigration are to be found among Tukalevskii's correspondents and close acquaintances during his life in Finland. For example he had a close association with Andrei Viktorovich Igel'strom, head of the Russian Library in the Aleksandrovskii University of Helsingfors, and maintained a correspondence with A. L. Bem with whom he shared a common past in Kiev and Petersburg. It was Bem who was in large measure instrumental in bringing about Tukalevskii's move from Finland to Prague. M. Magidova, a present-day researcher and librarian in Prague's Slavonic Library, commenting on Bem's role in Tukalevskii's decision to move to Prague, writes: 'Owning a rich library of Russian literature, Tukalevskii, under the influence of Bem and the latter's Kulturträger and political programme linked with the publication of the "Krest'ianskaia Rossiia" collections, moved from Finland to Prague after having resolved, at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry level, the question of the placement of his books and the conditions for his émigré status.'²³

Tukalevskii, concerned about the fate of his library, wrote from Finland in March 1923 to Bem in Prague: 'The fact is that the "bride", my library, and I myself as a "free supplement" or dowry are in the sights of the Berlin Research Institute with whom I have been corresponding on this issue. Personally, I would like to come to you in Prague for there I would be able to carry out work for the community, but if I go to Berlin then I will have to concentrate on research work alone. [...] I myself personally am not keen on Berlin and spiritually would be drawn to Slavonic Prague. Besides I share in common with you personal recollections and experiences of our youth together. So, I have a request to make of you; could you find time to speak with somebody in the libraries to see if my combination might be of interest to them. [...] I

²¹ In a letter to A. L. Bem he writes: 'I could help in getting some book collections belonging to other persons and institutions. Possibly for a small charge.' Tukalevskii's letter to Bem (the beginning of the letter is missing) is in the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature (Památník Národního Pisemnictví), A. L. Bem Archive, š. přír. 34/43, karton 1.

²² *Osvedomitel'nyi Biulleten'*, ed. V. N. Tukalevskii, 1921, nos. 1–4.

²³ M. Magidova, 'Biblioteka A. L. Bema v Slavianskoi biblioteke v Prage', in *Zarubezhnaia Rossiia. 1917–1939*, vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 2003), p. 359.

would not wish to sell. I have had invitations for some considerable time to go to America, but did not want to. I was approached on the subject by Hoover's representative, Professor Golder, who came to Finland and will take away with him Miliukov's library.'²⁴

The 'combination' thought up by Tukalevskii, by which as a 'supplement' to his library he would get a refuge and work, was successful. Without being separated from his books, he began work on the organisation of the library that is now one of the most renowned Slavonic collections in Europe.

Tukalevskii lived in Prague from 1923 to the end of his life. The Prague period in Tukalevskii's life was directly linked with professional work in the field of librarianship. He was initially appointed head of the library of the *Zemgor*—the émigré Union of Rural and Municipal Officials—but early in 1924 when the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry organised the Russian Library, he became its director. In 1927 it became the Slavonic Library, formed by merging the collections of the Russian Library and the personal libraries of Slavonic collectors, under the aegis of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry. The Russian section of the Slavonic Library, after absorbing the collection of its first director, was in short order supplemented by books essential for professional literary work. The library made Prague attractive to European scholars of the humanities, filling a major gap in the foundation of all work in Slavonic studies in Europe.

Tukalevskii carried out the general management of the library until 1929 and then became head of its Russian Department. From the first days of its existence, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry laid the responsibility for the foundation and organisation of the work of the library on Tukalevskii's shoulders. A Report on the work of the Library noted that 'from 1 January 1925 work commenced on the acquisition of library accessions from Russian historians, art historians, literary historians, jurists, economists who had maintained their libraries in various countries. The libraries served as a basis for specialist departments [...] Conditions in the book market in 1925 and early 1926 made it possible to seek out often very rare publications, to be used to supplement the various collections acquired from individual specialist scholars, and likewise to save these collections of Russian scholarly publications from the dispersal which would have occurred, had their owners sold them to antiquarian and other booksellers.'²⁵ Within a year of its foundation the library's holdings amounted to upwards of 40,000 items. The 15 February 1925 Report gives the following information about the sources of acquisitions by the library: '1. Received from Plamia—19,600 volumes; Tukalevskii's library—10,000 volumes; Shmurlo's library—7,000 volumes; Amfiteatrov's library—

²⁴ Tukalevskii's letter to Bem, 23 March 1923 (note 21).

²⁵ Slavonic Library of the Foreign Ministry. Prague, 1925–29. Report [typescript]. GARF, f. 5777. op. 1. no. 513. l. 25–26.

4,000 volumes; Okunev's library—1,980; Ukrainian publications—200. Total: 41,780 volumes.'²⁶

A year later he wrote to his Finnish correspondent, Igel'strom: 'We are now receiving over a hundred journals directly from Moscow and Leningrad and generally getting much literature from there. We already have about 80,000 books, so that I am celebrating.'²⁷ Filling gaps in the holdings of the Slavonic Library was a constant concern for its director. He energetically worked on book exchanges with libraries in the Soviet Union, acquired bibliographies in order to keep up with contemporary Soviet book production and strove to build up separate thematic and personal collections.

A letter to Sreznevskii in 1926 spoke in detail about library business:

We have just now received the first batch of books from Moscow for our library. A number of publications from the eighteenth century for which I feel such affection. We now have a full run of the Academy *Zapiski* and *Izvestiia* . . . There is also a full set of the *Sbornik* of the Historical Society. And other full sets which we have managed to complete. But much more is still needed. I got Karataev, but still no Undol'skii. I don't know where it might be had . . . It might be possible to arrange an exchange of duplicates and even a special dispatch to you of the material published abroad on Tolstoi . . . And I would very much like to set up here for readers abroad just a collection of the fundamental materials for Tolstoi studies. All the more so since we have a continual stream of visitors from various countries, Germany, France, Belgium, for literature on Tolstoi. For Prague is central, and little by little our library is winning recognition. And I always immediately make sure that each foreigner, in exchange for the help we give him, is given a thorough grounding in the need to inform me of Tolstoi bibliography in the country from which he hails. Even a Negro came recently, interested in Tolstoi and even reads Russian, specially learnt it to read Tolstoi. He was, by the way, a follower of Mahatma Gandhi [. . .] and I have another dream: to get a large bust of Lev Nikolaevich for our Tolstoi corner in the Library . . . And I would also like to have a mask of Lev Nikolaevich. A special small display case for it is even on order for me.²⁸

Although the Library absorbed much of his time, Tukalevskii also took part in other initiatives linked with book matters in Prague. He was a member of the Committee of the Russian Book in Prague, and of the bibliographical commission and, in S. I. Varshavskii's opinion, contributed a great deal to its

²⁶ Materials on the founding of the Slavonic Library of the Foreign Ministry. 1925–29. GARF, f. 5777. no. 507.

²⁷ Cherniaev (note 6), p. 34.

²⁸ 'Pis'mo V. Tukalevskogo V. Sreznevskomu' (Prague, 20, 1926) in *Al'fred Liudvigovich Bem / Vsevolod Izmailovich Sreznevskii. Perepiska. 1911–36, sostavlenie, podgotovka teksta, vvedenie, kommentarii, imennoi ukazatel'* Milusha Bubennikova i Andrei Nikolaevich Goriainov (Brno, Slavisticheskoe obshchestvo Franka Vol'mana 2005), pp. 137–40. (Held in RGALI, f. 436, op. 1. d. 2991, l. 16–7.)

work.²⁹ Vladimir Nikolaevich was one of the editors of several issues of the continuation of *Slavianskoe knigovedenie* (1931–1932) published in Prague. He also took part in the work of the ‘Russian People’s University’, in seminars on the study of contemporary Russia, was present at editorial meetings of the bibliographical monthly *Slavianskaia kniga* published under the editorship of F. S. Mansvetov,³⁰ cooperated with and had professional dealings with many prominent Russian and foreign figures in the book world. Among those with whom his professional work brought him into contact in Prague were N. A. Rubakin, S. P. Postnikov, Zdeněk Václav Tobolka, and Stepan Siropolko.³¹ He maintained constant links too with Russian librarian colleagues. Vladimir Nikolaevich was a participator in such important events in a librarian’s life as the congress of librarians and booklovers held in Prague in 1926 when he gave a paper ‘The Bibliography of Slavistics’. In a letter to Igel’strom on 8 August 1926 he wrote: ‘Lately there have been many different people here. There has been an International Congress of Librarians at which I read a paper and proposed my resolutions for uniting the work of libraries in different countries, and also on “The Bibliography of Slavica”. There were lots of people at the Congress and I got to know many. Professor Liashchenko, head of the Slavonic Department of the Academy of Sciences Library, had come from Leningrad. He had interesting things to say.’³²

Tukalevskii published fairly often in Czech and German journals generally sympathetic articles on the progress of librarianship and culture in the

²⁹ S. I. Varshavskii, ‘Komitet Russkoi Knigi (oчерk zadach i deiatel’nosti)’, in *Russkaia zarubezhnaia kniga*, ch. 1: *Bibliograficheskie obzory* (Prague, 1924), pp. 5–18; S. P. Postnikov in his introduction to the second part of *Russkaia zarubezhnaia kniga* that includes a bibliographic index of the Russian book, expresses his gratitude for aid in its preparation. See *Russkaia zarubezhnaia kniga*, ch. 2: *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel’*, 1918–24, ed. S. P. Postnikov (Prague, 1924), p. 7.

³⁰ Tukalevskii’s GARF archive has invitations to editorial board meetings of the bibliographical monthly *Slavianskaia kniga* (1926). On the agendas of the meetings, besides matters to do with the work of the editorial board, there were discussions on preparations for the international book exhibition (28 June 1926), foreign bibliography and other questions (GARF. f. 5777. op. 1. no. 507.1. 7, 22).

³¹ Sergei Porfir’evich Postnikov (1883–1965), bibliographer, editor, publisher, one of the founders of the Russian Archive of Foreign History (RZIA) in Prague, director of the RZIA library, an active member of the ‘Komitet russkoi knigi’; Zdeněk Václav Tobolka (1874–1951), Czech historian, book expert, bibliographer, Prague University librarian, the first lecturer in book studies in Prague University, head of librarianship courses, one of the founders and editors of the collection *Slavianskoe knigovedenie*, author of the well-known work *Kniga: ee genesis, razvitiie i analiz* (1950) and many other works on book studies and bibliography; Stepan Siropolko (1872–1959), Ukrainian book expert, bibliographer, president of the Ukrainian Society of Devotees of the Book in Prague, editor-in-chief of the collection *Knigoliub* (1927–1932), director of the Ukrainian section of the monthly *Slavianskaia kniga*. For information on him see E. I. Ogar, ‘Stepan Siropolko—knigoved i bibliograf’, in *Istoriko-bibliograficheskie issledovaniia: sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (St Petersburg, 2002), no. 9. pp. 97–112.

³² Cherniaev (note 6), p. 34.

USSR:³³ on the Academy of Sciences Library (1932), on the development of bibliology in Soviet Russia (1931)³⁴ (in the journal *Slavianskoe knigovedenie*, of which he was one of the editors), on the USSR Academy of Sciences³⁵ and on the study of Goethe's work in the Soviet Union.³⁶ The brochure *Kratkii repertuar izdanii Ukrainskoi knizhnoi palaty* was published in 1929: the translation was by Tukalevskii.

The most interesting and significant of these works is the article 'Bibliologičeskaia v SSSR' in which he gave a thorough review of the development of the book world in Russia after the revolution. This study by Tukalevskii is one of the few examples of research into bibliography created abroad in the Russian emigration but based on Russian material. The main aim of the review is to acquaint foreign specialists with the achievements of Russian bibliography in the post-revolutionary period. Here Tukalevskii was speaking as a propagandist for Russian librarianship from outside Russia. The article was published in French in the limited-circulation Prague journal *Slavianskoe knigovedenie*. Bibliology was understood by Tukalevskii in fairly broad terms, embracing everything linked with the creation and distribution of the book in society. It should be noted that the spirit of the article, the author's stated and unstated assessments, reflect his position in relationship to the cultural policy of the USSR in general, and to policy in the field of the book in particular. The policy was simply welcomed by him, and he was inclined to exaggerate and idealise its achievements. 'If we were to throw a glance back and consider the state in which bibliology found itself before the revolution in Russia, we would have to acknowledge that it would be necessary to undertake immense theoretical and practical work in order to make up for lost time. If Russian bibliologists wished to rank with their European colleagues, they would have been obliged to fulfil in a short time what European bibliologists had realised in a calm environment (at their leisure) during many decades',³⁷ observed the author, and showed further what and how Russian specialists had achieved in the field. He

³³ See the bibliography of V. N. Tukalevskii's works published in *Práce Ruské, ukrajinské a běloruské emigrace vydané v Československu, 1918–1945* (Prague, 1996), díl 1, sv. 2, pp. 478, 661, 719–720.

³⁴ V. Toukalevskij, *La Bibliologie en Russie Soviétique R.S.F.S.R.* (Prague, 1931). 62pp. *Zvláštní otisk z časopisu 'Slovanská knihověda'*. This edition is missing from the holdings of the RNL, the translation was made from a copy from the holdings of the Library of RAN (on the cover is an inscription 'From the Author' and the stamp 'Vl. Tukalevskii—Director of the Foreign Ministry Slavonic Library, Prague 1, Klementinum', in Czech).

³⁵ Die Bundesakademie der Wissenschaften (UdSSR) / Vl. Tukalevskij ([Prague, Deutsche Gesellschaft für slavische Forschung], 1931). 8pp. Separát z.: *Slavische Rundschau*, 1931 (roč. 3), 1931.

³⁶ Vl. Tukalevskij, *Goethe und Sowjetrussland* (Prague, 1933). 31pp. Separát z: *Germanoslavica*. 1932/1933. roč. 2, seš. 3. A significant part of the article is devoted to B. Ia. Bukhshtab's bibliography 'Russkie perevody iz Gete'.

³⁷ Toukalevskij (note 34), p. 10.

cited basic information of a factual character, naming and describing the most interesting research by bibliographers and Russian specialists in librarianship. Vladimir Nikolaevich was thoroughly conversant with the latest Russian literature in the field of the book world: not one work of any significance seemed to be overlooked, and the most valuable were highlighted. It is difficult to name an analogous work of that time where the state of affairs in the field is so fully presented. The article is interesting for defining Tukalevskii's views on the science of librarianship and is worthy of special study in the context of the development of thinking in this area of scholarship in Russia and beyond in the first third of the twentieth century. He carefully tracked the development of the book world in Soviet Russia and, as his own library work bears witness, strove in one way or another to use his wide bibliographical knowledge in his practical library work.

V. N. Tukalevskii's archive in GARF is a huge collection of various types of documents (consisting of 1,039 individual items) which are interesting not only for the study of the history of the Russian emigration as a whole, but also for reconstructing the life and career paths of the creator of the archive himself. Many items in this archive are linked with the library work of Vladimir Nikolaevich (reports and material on the organisation and work of the Slavonic Library of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry (1925–1929 and 1933), correspondence on the acquisition of books, book exchanges, lists and catalogues of books, drafts of works on bibliography and the book and preparatory work for them, papers and articles on librarianship and bibliography, plans and notes on the work of the Library).³⁸

It is his personal diary that is of most interest for a profile of Tukalevskii the librarian. His diary entries in Prague began in July 1923 immediately after his arrival from Finland. In the first Prague years he kept his diaries in large-format exercise books. The diary for 1924–1926, in a brown and black, large-format exercise book, has the owner's inscription on the fly-leaf, and a heading on the title page: 'Prague. Chapters from the recollections of things seen and experienced by a spectator. 1924'.³⁹ The diaries for 1926–1927 are in similar exercise books. The diaries and notebooks for the following years are in notepads and exercise books of various formats. The entries were made more often than not in ink, but there are pencilled entries as well. Work on deciphering and studying Tukalevskii's diaries would require a long time: here

³⁸ GARF. V. N. Tukalevskii. f. 5777. Among other items, it includes: Diaries and notebooks 1923–1936 (op.1. ed. khr. 41–63); Materials for a Report on the Russian Library 1925–26 (f. 5777. op. 1. ed. khr. 110); Materials on setting up the Foreign Ministry Slavonic Library. 1925–29 (ibid., ed. kh. 507); Article 'Biblioteka Tolstogo' (ibid., ed. kh. 442); 'Etiudy iz istorii russkoi knigi. Kniga na russkom iazyke v SSSR': Working materials (ibid., ed. khr. 448); Article 'Vvedenie k kursu "Polnoe ob"iasnenie predmeta i printsipa pri vybore knigi"', in Russian, Czech and French (ibid., ed. khr. 449); Lecture [fragment] 'Chto takoe bibliografiia' (ibid., ed. khr. 454).

³⁹ Diary 1924–1926. GARF. f.5777. op. 1. ed. khr. 45.

it is possible to give only a general idea of their nature and content.

He was methodical in the keeping of his diary over many years; the last entries, full of tragedy, were made shortly before his death in the autumn of 1936. The peculiarities of the diaries in style and content are a clear reflection of his personality. The diaries reveal in full measure Tukalevskii's inherent meticulousness on the one hand, and on the other his partiality in his assessment of events, people and phenomena. He fixes in detail events in his personal, social and professional life: he describes meetings and conversations, his evaluations of political events, his impressions on reading books and newspapers, the minutiae of day-to-day existence (the prices of food, goods, land, lodging, etc.) and the details of leisure time (New Year celebrations, visits to the theatre, concerts, cafés and taverns, etc). Significant space in the diary of his early years in Prague is taken up by a description of his break with the *Zemgor* and gradual withdrawal from émigré political life. Tukalevskii was conscious of himself as a witness of important historical events and strove to reflect the events in his diary. He writes on the first page of the diary for 1924: 'My greatest desire is that, against the general background of events, various individuals would stand out from that milieu of common émigré philistinism surrounding everyone in Prague. [...] These notes of mine may only be published after my death.'⁴⁰ He again in the same year returned to thoughts of the need to fix what was happening around him: 'Tons of material for memoirs. That's capital in the future. One should immediately start writing memoirs and give a profile of various individuals. A simple matter, given the richness of the material.'⁴¹

One of the main themes of the diary is Tukalevskii's pride and joy—the Slavonic Library. He describes in detail events in the Library's life, from the process of its transfer from the *Zemgor*, its move to the Summer Palace in Stromovka, and the ordering of bookcases and bookshelves, to a description of the Library's holdings, its replenishment, the allocation of duties among the staff, and visits to the Library by important guests. A particular seam in the diary entries is an account of relations between members of staff and an appraisal of their professional qualities. A researcher into library history will find in Tukalevskii's diary rich material for a study of the psychological characteristics of the librarian's profession, the special features of the organisation of a range of library processes. Events linked with library life are a continual presence in the diary from the moment of the transfer of his personal book collection to the Library organised by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry. As has already been noted, it was thanks to his personal library that he had been able to move from Finland to Prague and get work. Vladimir Nikolaevich's book collection, after his move to Prague, was located in the Russian People's

⁴⁰ Ibid., l. 1.

⁴¹ Ibid., l. 27.1.

Library of the *Zemgor* until the end of 1924.⁴² Then it was taken to the Foreign Ministry Library. However the decision to hand over his personal book collection in exchange for the possibility of getting interesting work was not taken lightly by Vladimir Nikolaevich. A description of the events surrounding the decision and the transfer and moving of his personal library to the Summer Palace in Stromovka takes up many pages in the diary. Parting from his greatest treasure—his library⁴³—was for him a difficult and painful process for many reasons. Summing up his life in Prague, he wrote in his diary: ‘And the main thing that happened was that I gave up my books and newspapers [underlined]. It was a complete turnaround in my life. I did indeed give up my ‘property’. It is not only that I was sorry! No. I felt myself really free. It was so easy. I won’t say that I was glad [underlined]. No, it was a much more complicated and deep feeling. No doubt I shall continue to collect. He who is not familiar with the feeling of a gatherer, a collector, will never understand what real sufferings mean when one feels the necessity to keep something or other. It is not to do with hoarding, but with preserving for the future.’⁴⁴ The diary entries show that Vladimir Nikolaevich was overwhelmed by justifiable pride and a feeling of elation because he had transferred his library for the benefit of the public: it was not by chance that he cited S. P. Postnikov’s opinion: ‘Postnikov was amazed that I had given away the library to the Ministry. He called it a heroic deed.’⁴⁵ And at 10 p.m. on 2 January 1925 he exclaimed: ‘The move is over! The library is in the Palace. [...] And today I feel that I can die in peace. The library is in its true place. All will be preserved.’⁴⁶ It may be supposed that one of the compelling motives for handing over the library was a feeling of patriotism, an awareness that his collection would serve the cause of the study of Slavdom. Together with the entries on events linked with the transfer of his library and plans for the future were thoughts on the Slavonic peoples: ‘Thought about the solving of Slavonic problems and to do the utmost in that respect. I am a Slav, born in Ukraine, raised in Russia, living in the Czech lands [underlined].’⁴⁷ And there follows a list of priorities: ‘1. Bibli-

⁴² At the present moment it is not possible to say exactly on what legal basis Tukalevskii’s library became part of the *Zemgor* library. In order clarify this question, further archival research is necessary. V. Iu. Voloshin notes: ‘In 1921 the *Zemgor* created a Russian People’s Library and reading room in Prague. They were set up on the basis of the libraries of P. L. Lavrov, M. P. Gots, E. E. Lazarev, V. M. Chernov and partly of V. N. Tukalevskii, transferred to the *Zemgor*’ (*XX vek: Dve Rossii—odna kul'tura: sbornik nauchykh trudov po materialam 14-kh Smirdinskikh chtenii*, St Petersburg, 2006, p. 316). For a description of the content and owner’s distinctive mark on Tukalevskii’s personal library: see article by O. N. Il’ina and M. Magidova (note 7).

⁴³ For a description of the composition of Tukalevskii’s personal library, see O. N. Il’ina and M. Magidova (note 7).

⁴⁴ Diary 1924–1926. GARF. f. 5777. op. 1. ed. khr. 45. 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid., l. 18.

⁴⁶ Ibid., l. 28.

⁴⁷ Ibid., l. 11.

ographical index of journal articles; 2. Material on Slavs; 3. Short description of Czech scholars and writers; 4. The same for other Slavonic countries; 5. Description of literature on Slavonic studies.’⁴⁸

Many of Tukalevskii’s initiatives were linked with the development of Slavonic bibliography. The Slavonic theme is ever present in his personal plans and entries on the pages of his diary. He was fairly clear in his understanding of the ‘Slavonic question’ and put forward a programme for developing Slavonic studies in which a significant place was given to libraries and bibliography. Let us quote in abridged form a fragment from a diary entry for 30 December 1924 that in our opinion gives a fair description of Tukalevskii’s position on this matter:

Re Slavdom. The question is obviously much wider and deeper than I thought. Indeed it is necessary [...] to approach the question from various angles. Not only is it necessary to realise that when one speaks of Russian participation in Slavonic questions—one must not only think of émigré Russians. One must remember that one must involve scholars and specialists from Russia itself and Ukraine. [...] And why not invite people from Russia if you want to found a really scholarly institution. That may indeed, more than anything else, bind real Russian society together with the Czechs, Serbs, Bulgarians and so on. [...] That may indeed help to bridge the gulf between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Of course one has to acknowledge that initially, while they are Bolsheviks, they will send Red professors. Nothing will come from that combination, since over there they are not concerned with Slavdom but with the Comintern? [...] The work must be done with the most delicate, inspired diplomacy, suitable for the contemporary situation. A Slavonic Institute must not only be regarded as an asylum for émigré organisations. It shall also not be a chaotic, charitable affair as has been the case up to now. A Slavonic Institute must be maintained at the expense of the states themselves. And Russia’s part would give the maximum. That is also a motive—what might be taken from refugees. True, by giving a refuge to the institute, the Czechs would maintain the institution. But given all that, one must draw Russian scholars over to one’s side.

Over there in Russia they will say—we don’t need ‘Slavs’ from the Czechs, but communists. We don’t need national traits. All the more so since we hate the Poles, and the Serbs hate the Bulgarians. So one needs to attract those highly cultured and scholarly forces that might impart notes of objectivity to the cause. There is nothing greater and higher in its objectivity than pure scholarship! One must then approach the matter in such a way that the conditions themselves promote objectivity. And the main thing needed is that the Institute in Prague will immediately do what is constructive and necessary for all the Slavs of the entire Slavonic world. The first step must be taken at once. Attract not by declarations but immediately with vigorous action. One must also find a target that one could hit at once.

⁴⁸ Ibid., I. 17.

Really necessary for all the Slavonic peoples.
Objective scholarship or generally educational.
Apolitical.
Democratic.

[...] Note: 1. Publishing scholarly works (initially Russian—since they can't themselves); 2. Publishing bibliography and information; 3. Funding of travel for the study of things Slavonic.⁴⁹

Ministers from the Czechoslovak government visited the Library in October 1925. Tukalevskii called this day 'my triumph' in his diary: 'They were all surprised that we had been able within the short time of 6 months to create such a library. They were astounded. I relished my victory.'⁵⁰ Let us quote a few more typical entries. On 19 January 1926 Tukalevskii wrote: 'Today Alisa Masaryk, the President's daughter, made a completely unexpected visit to the Library. She was dressed very simply in a black dress and a plain hat. But a sable stole. Wanted to show her the Library in detail but she was in a hurry. Interested in a French book on witches. Then Pushkin and Tolstoi. Her attention drawn to Tolstoi autograph. Asked for the journals *Stolitsa i usad'ba*. She said that in her view that place, Letogradka, was unsuitable for keeping books. [...].'⁵¹

Let us note among other events in the Library's life reflected in the diary's pages: an Exhibition of Ukrainian Books, the International Congress of Librarians and a dinner given by the ministers of the Czechoslovak Republic during the Congress in honour of Nikolai Rubakin (1926).⁵²

Much space is given over in the last exercise book of the diaries for 1935 to a description of political events in Europe and the USSR. Tukalevskii describes in detail, for example, the murder of S. M. Kirov and lays out the various versions of the crime. He was thorough in his recording of any impressions and assessments of Soviet life, and followed closely the political trials in Moscow, not suspecting that quite soon he was destined to become a victim of one of them. The diary retained a draft of a letter, most probably addressed to Stalin, in which he tried to get him to defend him from the slander that had reverberated at the Moscow trial. Apart from the request for help, he listed his services to USSR in the naïve hope that his work would be of some interest to the 'leader of nations':

I have managed to set up a Russian Department in the Slavonic Library with a large amount of literature about the Soviet Union about which I have written in the Soviet press. I have written many articles in various languages on the cultural development of the peoples of the Union. Through

⁴⁹ Ibid., l. 20–21.

⁵⁰ Ibid., l. 53.

⁵¹ Ibid., l. 73.

⁵² Ibid., ed. khr. 47. l. 1–2.

a literary agency in Moscow I have obtained for the local press articles by Soviet authors about Soviet culture, and I have been sending various literary materials to various institutions in Moscow and Leningrad, being in communication with them through the plenipotentiary in Prague. [...] have taken part in the work of the Prague Organisation of Social Cultural Links with Foreign Countries by which I have furthered the rapprochement of Czech and Russian scholars, let alone my help to various authors engaged in writing articles about the Union in various languages. Latterly I have been in constant contact with the plenipotentiary in Prague. I have been consulted about various pieces of information and I have supplied various reference works about the Soviet Union from the Library⁵³

Far from all Tukalevskii's plans in the field of bibliography and librarianship were destined to be realised. The archive has unpublished works by Tukalevskii, preparatory drafts for articles and books, extensive plans for further development of the Library. Tukalevskii's plans for the work of the Library envisaged the compilation of lists of books published in Russia, in the emigration, in Ukraine, and the creation of a chronicle of the main contemporary events. He also gave thought to giving lectures on bibliography for librarianship courses in Prague and dreamt of a bibliographical journal that would reflect Russian and Ukrainian literature, a distinctive, extensive book chronicle that might, in his opinion, serve as guidance for European librarians. Vladimir Nikolaevich considered that that would be propaganda for the Russian book abroad.

From the Slavonic Library reports, it appears that a weekly seminar was held for the librarians for discussion of professional, library and bibliographical problems. The archive preserves a fragment of a lecture 'What is bibliography?',⁵⁴ that was probably intended for this seminar. Judging by the fragment, in this lecture Tukalevskii reviewed terminological questions in bibliography, and tried to define the demands on bibliographical aids and professional demands on bibliographers, and traced the basic stages in the development of bibliography in Russia. An easy style and graphic examples allowed the lecture's author to give a lively exposition, it would seem, of the dry tenets of bibliographical theory and practice. As an illustration, here are some lines from the document:

Over a century, if one considers that the first bibliographer Sopikov published his compilation in 1812, over a century has passed, each day the word has flashed before our eyes, and yet up until this very day we cannot determine what 'Bibliography' is. To a question of mine about the essence of bibliography one graduating student replied 'that's to do with books by and large, isn't it'. An excellent answer. That is precisely what mod-

⁵³ Diary 1935, ed. khr. 63. 1.

⁵⁴ Lecture [fragment, typescript] 'Chto takoe bibliografiia' (GARF. f. 5777. op. 1. ed. kh. 454).

ern Russian society understands by the term 'bibliography'. On the other hand, when in the same intelligent society or in journalism, the subject of Bibliographer arises, then immediately there springs to mind the image of something,—yes, 'something' and not 'somebody'—dry, worm-like, for every Bibliographer is associated with a book-worm crawling under the spine of a book's binding.⁵⁵

And further on, in formulating the tasks facing bibliographers, he again turns to the comparison: 'And for that, the bibliographers themselves must transform themselves from a "worm-like" creature under a dusty binding into scholars with no need of a condescending pat on the back from any newspaper man, today from a reporter and tomorrow from the reviewer of a book.'⁵⁶ As the diary bears witness, V. N. Tukalevskii intended to publish his lectures on bibliography and the history of the book. The archive has other preparatory material too for works on bibliography. Material headed 'Studies from the history of the Russian book. The book in Russian in the USSR'⁵⁷ was begun in 1927. It has statistical tables of books and journals in Ukrainian and Russian prepared from materials in *Knizhnaia letopis'*, and a comparative analysis was made of publishing production according to branch of knowledge and country.

More refined in character are the draft materials for an article 'Introduction to a Course "A Full Explanation of the Subject and Principle in Book Selection" (in Russian and Czech)',⁵⁸ that also date from 1927. These materials were written, it may be suggested, under the undoubted influence of his acquaintance with European theory and practice in librarianship. The work begins with a description of the professional qualities of the librarian who 'should have an index-like mind, that is his mind should not waste and squander its knowledge, but register it in such a way that at any moment it could be an index'.⁵⁹ Tukalevskii spends some time on questions of the interaction of librarian and reader, and notes the special nature of the librarian's awareness. The following sections 'Introductions . . .' are devoted to the significance of the book, its structure, elements of the reference apparatus, the classification of books according to various indicators (material and content, country, chronology, form, the nature of the text, etc.). The types, forms and genres of publications are selected for special investigation. It is curious that he calls advertising publications 'publications for promoting success'. A significant part

⁵⁵ Ibid., I. 1.

⁵⁶ Ibid., I. 3.

⁵⁷ 'Etiudy iz istorii russkoi knigi. Kniga na russkom iazyke v SSSR': Working materials (ibid., ed. khr. 448).

⁵⁸ Article, 'Vvedenie k kursu "Polnoe ob"iasnenie predmeta i printsipa pri vybore knigi"', in Russian, Czech and French (ibid., ed. khr. 449).

⁵⁹ Ibid., I. 1.

of the document is written in French and Czech. It should be noted that the material cited above and the archival documentation out of the scope of the present review may be of interest to contemporary book historians from the point of view of the history of the formation of bibliographical ideas and the history of librarianship in the Russian emigration.

The multi-faceted work of V. N. Tukalevskii as librarian, bibliographer and bibliophile demands further study, requiring active use of his rich archival heritage.

The present review has been able to present only a few examples from his personal papers. The letters and reminiscences of the contemporaries with whom his destiny brought him into contact are also of undoubted interest. In conclusion let us note that apart from GARF, archive material linked with V. N. Tukalevskii's life and work is preserved in RGALI, the St Petersburg section of the RAN Archive, in the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature in Prague and in Finnish archives.⁶⁰ Research into the whole range of archive material and also material from émigré, Czechoslovak and Soviet periodicals should afford the opportunity to amplify some circumstances in his life and work and to give an unbiased assessment of his contribution to Russian émigré cultural development and librarianship in Europe in the first third of the twentieth century. It is to be hoped that a scholarly reconstruction of V. N. Tukalevskii's road through life will help to debunk the myths and conjectures that until now have surrounded his name.

Translated by W. Gareth Jones

⁶⁰ See notes 6, 21, 28.

Архивно-библиографические заметки об изданиях типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса 1791—1795 гг.

А.Ю. Самарин

Шеститомный 'Сводный каталог русской книги гражданской печати XVIII века. 1725—1800' (Москва, 1962—1975) является прочной основой для изучения истории книги этого периода. По словам современной исследовательницы И.Ю. Фоменко, он стал 'эталонem научного библиографирования русской книги'.¹ Важной составной частью каталога стали примечания и аннотации, дополняющие библиографические описания. Характеризуя их содержание, И.М. Полонская писала, что в них 'сообщаются сведения об авторах и лицах, причастных к изданию книги, если они не упомянуты на титульном листе, о наличии параллельного текста на иностранном языке, о составе книги, наличии в ней книготорговых росписей и списков подписчиков', а также 'обращается внимание на данные историко-книжного характера: на цензурную историю, тиражи, авторов, издателей, переводчиков, редакторов книг и периодических изданий'.²

Данная информация носит чрезвычайно важный характер для историков книги, а зачастую, и для историков литературы, общественной мысли и т.д. Не случайно, продолжая традицию составления сводных каталогов на материале первой четверти XIX в., современные библиографы расширили количество дополнительных аспектов (всего около 30), отражаемых при описании книг и журналов в случае наличия информации о них.³

Часто установление таких данных требует обращения к архивным материалам. Еще в 1969 г. В.А. Западов в рецензии на первые пять томов 'Сводного каталога русской книги XVIII века' писал, что ряд имеющихся в нем 'пробелов, пропусков, неточностей, ошибок'

¹ Фоменко И.Ю. О некоторых аспектах составления научных описаний для 'Сводного каталога русской книги 1801—1825 гг.' // Книга: Исследования и материалы. Москва, 1994. Сб. 67. С. 185.

² Полонская И.М. Итоги работы по составлению 'Сводного каталога русской книги гражданской печати XVIII века' // Труды ГБЛ. Москва, 1969. Т. 11. С. 140.

³ См.: Фоменко И.Ю. (примечание 1); Полонская И.М., Бердников Л.И. Проблемы библиографического репертуара русской книги первой четверти XIX века // Бердников Л.И. 'Счастливый Феникс': Очерки о русском сонете и книжной культуре XVIII — начала XIX века. Санкт-Петербург, 1997. С. 192—195.

обусловлен 'неоправданно малым привлечением архивного материала'.⁴ Он привел интересные архивные наблюдения, позволившие установить тиражи изданий, авторство отдельных произведений, дату их выхода в свет и т.д. Данные сведения, как и множество других уточнений, вошли в выпущенный в 1975 г. дополнительный том 'Сводного каталога'.

Вместе с тем, полного вовлечения архивного материала по истории русской книги XVIII в. в научный оборот проведено не было. В последующие годы в монографиях и статьях книговедов и филологов было выявлено множество отдельных фактов по истории издания книг и журналов, сведений об их тиражах, авторах и переводчиках и т.д. Особо следует выделить специальные дополнения к 'Сводному каталогу', составленные В.Д. Раком.⁵ В них он, главным образом, уточняет сведения об авторах переводных книг и оригиналах, с которых выполнялись переводы, но также приводит отдельные данные о тиражах, месте и годе издания, типографиях и т.д.

Лишь в 2005 г. увидели свет подготовленные Д.В. Тюличевым еще в конце 1960-х гг. более 300 дополнений, касающихся изданий типографии Академии наук, вышедших в 1740—1760-е гг. В них приведены новые сведения об их тиражах, лицах, делавших издательские заказы, темпах продажи книг и т.д.⁶

О продуктивности архивных поисков свидетельствует и опыт работы автора настоящих заметок. Так, по материалам личного архивного фонда Я.И. Булгакова, хранящегося в отделе рукописей Российской государственной библиотеки, удалось не только охарактеризовать его многолетнюю деятельность по выпуску в свет собственного перевода многотомного 'Всемирного путешественника' аббата Ж. де Ла Порты, но и установить тиражи почти всех его томов, выходявших в 1778—1794 гг. в семи типографиях (И.К. Шнора и И.Я. Вейтбрехта, Академии наук, И.Я. Вейтбрехта, Б.Л. Гека, И.К. Шнора, Ф.И. Брейткопфа, Корпуса иностранных единоверцев).⁷

Интересные находки были сделаны и при работе с документами типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса, хранящимися в Российском государственном военно-историческом архиве (РГВИА). В

⁴ Западов В.А. Библиография и архивы // Русская литература. 1969. № 1. С. 213.

⁵ См.: Рак В.Д. Библиографические заметки // XVIII век. Санкт-Петербург, 1995. Сб. 19. С. 187—222; Он же. Библиографические заметки // XVIII век. Санкт-Петербург, 1996. Сб. 20. С. 169—203.

⁶ См.: Тюличев Д.В. Материалы о некоторых изданиях, напечатанных в типографии Академии наук в 40—60-е годы XVIII века: (Дополнения к комментарию 'Сводного каталога русской книги гражданской печати XVIII века. 1725—1800') // Книга: Исследования и материалы. Москва, 2005. Сб. 83. С. 171—221.

⁷ См.: Самарин А.Ю. Издательская деятельность Я.И. Булгакова // Книга: Исследования и материалы. Москва, 2003. Сб. 81. С. 162—163.

2007 г. исполняется 250 лет с момента начала издательской деятельности Корпуса, которая продолжалась более 70 лет и внесла значительный вклад в развитие отечественной культуры. Типография была основана сенатским указом от 11 апреля 1757 г. В нем, в частности, говорилось: 'Для печатания книг к обучению находящихся при том Корпусе унтер-офицеров и кадетов сочиненными Профессорами и Информаторами того Корпуса на Российском диалекте единственной методы, яко то: Арифметики, Геометрии, Географии и генеральной Истории, также и принадлежащих к воинским обрядам специальных великих Генералов компаний и прочих достопамятных их дел, учредить Типографию, понеже оное необходимо как для Корпуса, так и для пользы общества весьма нужно'.⁸

Типография быстро стала одним из крупнейших полиграфических центров своего времени. До конца XVIII столетия, по подсчетам ученых, из ее стен вышло более 500 названий книг и журналов на русском и иностранных языках.⁹ Примерно половина печатной продукции появилась в результате заказов частных лиц (авторов, переводчиков, меценатов). В числе изданий корпуса были оригинальные поэтические и прозаические произведения русских литераторов А.П. Сумарокова, В.Т. Золотницкого, Н.В. Леонтьева, Ф.А. Эмина, Л.И. Сичкарева, Б.Е. Ельчанинова, Ф.Я. Козельского, М.И. Попова, И. Владыкина и др. Здесь были опубликованы переводы сочинений М. Сервантеса, Ж.-Б. Мольера, Ф.М. Вольтера, Д. Дидро, Г. Филдинга, А.Ф. Прево д'Экзиля, Х.Ф. Геллерта и др.

Особенно разнообразным репертуар корпусной типографии был в 1760-е гг., поскольку ее 'Штат', принятый 1 сентября 1761 г., предусматривал своеобразную систему государственного кредитования издательских начинаний частных лиц.¹⁰ Именно этот период издательской деятельности Корпуса наиболее интенсивно изучался в историографии.¹¹

С начала 1770-х гг. типография Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского

⁸ Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Санкт-Петербург, 1830. Т. 14. С. 758. № 10718.

⁹ См.: Кондакова Т.И. Становление издательского аппарата в структуре Сухопутного Шляхетского кадетского корпуса (XVIII в.) // Книжное дело Петербурга—Петрограда—Ленинграда. Ленинград, 1981. С. 22—23.

¹⁰ Подробнее см.: Самарин А.Ю. 'Штат' типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса 1761 г. // Книга в России. Москва, 2006. Сб. 1. С. 134—147.

¹¹ См.: Столянский П.Н. Из прошлого Рыцарской Академии // Педагогический сборник. 1915. № 1. С. 38—60; Луптов С.П. Типография Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса в 1757—1763 гг. и ее заказные издания // Книга и библиотеки в России XIV—первой половине XIX века. Ленинград, 1982. С. 5—25; Шамрай Д.Д. Цензурный надзор над типографией Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса // XVIII век. Москва; Ленинград, 1940. Сб. 2. С. 293—329.

корпуса приобретает больше черт, свойственных ведомственному издательскому центру. Но здесь по-прежнему продолжают выходить книги и журналы, печатающиеся по частным заказам. Данный этап истории издательского дела в Корпусе менее исследован.

Обращение к архивным документам позволяет дополнить наши знания по истории книгоиздания и книгораспространения Корпуса, что нашло отражение в ряде опубликованных работ.¹² Специальная статья была посвящена выявленным по архивным документам данным о тиражах 35 названий книг и 1 журнала, напечатанных в типографии Сухопутного корпуса в 1768—1771 гг.¹³

Настоящие заметки отражают новые данные об изданиях типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса, увидевших свет в 1791—1795 гг. Следует оговориться, что документация типографии сохранилась не полностью, в ней имеются значительные хронологические лакуны. Источником для выявления приводимых сведений стали книги 'на записку по типографии прихода денег и расхода книг', которые велись в 1792—1795 гг.¹⁴ В них фиксировались суммы, полученные типографией за выполнение казенных и частных заказов, как правило, с указанием объемов последних, а также деньги, вырученные от продажи издательской продукции. Из документов следует, что типография выпускала не только книги, но и довольно много акцидентной продукции (патентов на чины, визитных билетов, билетов для розыгрыша лотерей, подорожных, билетов 'на помадные горшочки', наклеек к штофам, форм векселей, каталогов художников, прејскурантов и т.д.).

Записи носят рабочий характер, в них даются краткие описания изданий, которые были понятны сотрудникам типографии, но трудно поддаются расшифровке сегодня, особенно когда речь идет просто о напечатании 'речей на французском языке' или 'на немецком языке стихов'. В этой связи в нескольких случаях нам не удалось идентифицировать упоминаемые в документах издания. Возможно, некоторые из них будут определены при дальнейшей работе.

В ходе исследования дополнена информация о 31 издании, из которых

¹² См.: Самарин А.Ю. Участие Академии наук в организации типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса // Федоровские чтения, 2003. Москва, 2003. С. 351—358; Он же. Книжная торговля Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса в начале 1770-х гг. // Книга и мировая цивилизация: Материалы XI Международной научной конференции по проблемам книговедения (Москва, 20—21 апреля 2004 г.). Москва, 2004. Т. 2. С. 154—156; Он же. Типография Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса и развитие частной инициативы в издательском деле России // Университетская книга. 2006. № 7. С. 48—50 и др.

¹³ Самарин А.Ю. Тиражи изданий типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса в 1768—1771 гг. // Актуальные проблемы теории и истории библиофильства: Материалы X Международной научной конференции. Санкт-Петербург, 2005. С. 47—51.

¹⁴ РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806, 3818, 3830, 3857.

26 напечатаны на русском, а 5 — на иностранных языках. Все полученные сведения приведены ниже. Это — данные о тиражах и заказчиках изданий, ценах за напечатание, отдельные свидетельства о ходе распространения; в одном случае удалось подтвердить гипотезу об авторстве (№ 13), в другом установлены место издания и типография (№ 24). Подтверждается также информация об одном из разыскиваемых изданий (№ 25).

Выявленные сведения представляют интерес как для истории конкретных изданий, так и для создания общей статистической картины русского книгопечатания второй половины XVIII в. Кроме того, они содержат ценные свидетельства о малоисследованном периоде деятельности типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса.

Структура наших архивно-библиографических заметок такова: порядковый номер дополнения, а вслед за ним в скобках номер по 'Сводному каталогу русской книги гражданской печати XVIII века' или 'Сводному каталогу книг на иностранных языках, изданных в России в XVIII веке', взятое из сводных каталогов сокращенное библиографическое описание, впервые вводимые в научный оборот сведения по истории издания, ссылка на архивные документы, послужившие источником информации. Два последних компонента выделены курсивом.

Издания на русском языке

1 (СК 142). Анастасий (Братановский-Романенко, Андрей Семенович, 1761—1806). Речь говоренная военным возрастам Имп. Шляхетнаго сухопутнаго кадетскаго корпуса иеромонахом Анастасием при первом вступлении в должность учителя закону божию 1792 года февраля 28 дня. Санкт-Петербург, при оном же Корпусе, 1792. 7 с. 4°.

Тираж — 450 экз. Напечатано за счет Корпуса.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 3 об.

2 (СК 143). Анастасий (Братановский-Романенко, Андрей Семенович, 1761—1806). Слово в день рождения благоверных государыни и великия княжны Марии Павловны... Санкт-Петербург, при оном же Корпусе (Сухопутном Шляхетном кадетском. — А.С.), 1794. 12 с. 4°.

Тираж — 200 экз. Напечатано за счет автора, заплатившего 10 марта 1794 г. 3 руб. В 1795 г. на складе при типографии для реализации оставалось 45 экз.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3830. Л. 3; Д. 3857. Л. 115 об.

3 (СК 147). Анастасий (Братановский-Романенко, Андрей Семенович, 1761—1806). Слово в кавалерский праздник святого великомученика и

победоносца Георгия... ноября 26 дня 1792 года. Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1792. 12 с. 4°.

Тираж — 150 экз. Однако по другим сведениям в 1795 г. на складе при типографии оставалось для реализации 166 экз.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3818. Л. 2; Д. 3857. Л. 108 об.

4 (СК 149). Анастасий (Братановский-Романенко, Андрей Семенович, 1761—1806). Слово на новый 1794 год, в присутствии ея имп. величества и их имп. высочеств... Санкт-Петербург, при оном же Корпусе (Сухопутном Шляхетном кадетском. — А.С.), 1794. 13 с. 4°.

Тираж — 250 экз. Напечатано за счет автора, заплатившего 1 февраля 1794 г. 4 руб. 37 1/2 коп. В 1795 г. на складе при типографии для реализации оставалось 79 экз.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3830. Л. 2 об.; Д. 3857. Л. 114 об.

5 (СК 150). Анастасий (Братановский-Романенко, Андрей Семенович, 1761—1806). Слово на погребение графини Александры Ивановны, супруги... графа Ивана Андреевича Остермана... декабря 10 дня 1793 года. Санкт-Петербург, при оном же Корпусе (Сухопутном Шляхетном кадетском. — А.С.), 1794. 11 с. 4°.

Тираж — 300 экз. Напечатано за счет автора, заплатившего 17 января 1794 г. 4 руб. 50 коп. В 1795 г. на складе при типографии для реализации оставалось 80 экз.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3830. Л. 2; Д. 3857. Л. 80.

6 (СК 151). Анастасий (Братановский-Романенко, Андрей Семенович, 1761—1806). Слово на погребение его высокопревосходительства Александра Александровича Нарышкина... Санкт-Петербург, при оном же Корпусе (Сухопутном Шляхетном кадетском. — А.С.), 1795. 12 с. 4°.

Тираж — 1500 экз. Печатано за счет князя Ченыкаева, заплатившего 1 июня 1795 г. 26 руб. 25 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 4 об.

7 (СК 418). Батурин, Евграф Петрович. Речь при открытии собраний офицеров инженерных и артиллерийских, гребного флота учрежденных... Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. Сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1792. 20 с. 4°.

Тираж — 200 экз. Печатана за счет автора — капитана артиллерии Е.П. Батурина, уплатившего 17 февраля 1792 г. за набор и печать 12 руб. 50 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 3.

8 (СК 895). Вельцин, Иван Юрьевич (1767—1829). Начертание врачебного благоустройства... Санкт-Петербург, печ. при Имп.

Сухопутн. шляхетн. кад. корпусе, 1795. 8, XVIII, 239, 1 с. 8°.

Тираж — 914 экз. Печатано за счет автора — доктора И.Ю. Вельцина, заплатившего 23 мая 1795 г. 93 руб., а 30 июля 1795 г. еще 50 руб. в счет погашения общей суммы расходов на печатание, составившей 160 руб.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 4, 5.

9 (СК 1377). Георги, Иван Иванович (1729—1802). Описание российско-императорского столичного города Санктпетербурга... Ч. 1—3. Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1794. 8°.

Тираж — 1162 экз. Кроме этого, было напечатано 'Известие' о выходе книги в свет тиражом 3000 экз. Общая стоимость полиграфических работ составила 642 руб. 86 коп. 21 декабря 1793 г. переводчик книги П.Х. Безак заплатил 79 руб. 89 коп., а 30 мая 1794 г. в счет уплаты было получено 120 руб. 11 коп. от 'титularного советника Вирста'.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3818. Л. 5 об.; Д. 3830. Л. 4.

10 (СК 2303). Завалишин, Иринарх Иванович (1770—1821). Ода е.и.в. Екатерине II на всерадостнейший день преславного ея коронования... 1792 го года сентября 22 дня. Санкт-Петербург, при оном же Корпусе (Сухопутном Шляхетном кадетском. — А.С.), 1792. 20 с. 4°.

Тираж — 324 экз. Напечатано за счет автора, заплатившего 21 января 1793 г. 13 руб. 75 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3818. Л. 2.

11 (СК 2304). Завалишин, Иринарх Иванович (1770—1821). Ода е.и.в. Екатерине II на мир подписанный в Яссах между Российской империею и Оттоманскою Портою 1791 года... Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1792. 12 с. 4°.

Тираж — 248 экз. Печатано за счет автора — поручика И.И. Завалишина, заплатившего 5 июня 1792 г. за печать, набор и бумагу 10 руб. 50 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 5.

12 (СК 2308). Завалишин, Иринарх Иванович (1770—1821). Сокращенное землеописание Российскаго государства... Санкт-Петербург, при оном же Корпусе (Сухопутном Шляхетном кадетском. — А.С.), 1793. 32 с. 8°.

Тираж — 1200 экз. Печатано за счет автора, заплатившего 8 февраля 1794 г. 12 руб., 10 октября 1794 г. — 10 руб., а 31 января 1795 г. — 2 руб. Одновременно с последним взносом И.И. Завалишин оплатил 'Известие о продаже книг' объемом 1/8 листа и напечатанное тиражом 1000 экз.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3830. Л. 2 об., 5 об; Д. 3857. Л. 2

13 (СК 2463). Изображение победителя, преславной памяти его посвящаемое 1791 года декабря 6 дня от И... З... Санкт-Петербург,

при Имп. Шляхетн. сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1791. 1, 5 с. 4°.

Тираж — 248 экз. Печатано за счет И.И. Завалишина, заплатившего 28 января 1792 г. 8 руб. 20 коп. Данное обстоятельство подтверждает высказанное Г.Н. Геннади предположение о том, что именно И.И. Завалишин был автором этого произведения.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 2 об.

14 (СК 3391). Кусков, Иван. Танцевальной учитель, заключающий в себе правила и основания сего искусства к пользе обоего пола... Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. Сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1794, 8, 44, 1 с.; 7 л. илл. 8°.

Тираж — 1209 экз. Печатано за счет автора — учителя И. Кускова, заплатившего за набор и тиснение 6 октября 1794 г. 4 руб. 37 1/2 коп., а 29 марта 1795 г. внесшего в корпус еще 50 руб., полностью оплатив свой заказ.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3830. Л. 5 об.; Д. 3857. Л. 3 об.

15 (СК 3419). Лаксман, Эрик (Laxman Erik, 1737—1796). О введении щелочной ископаемой соли на стеклоплавильных заводах вместо поташа. Открытие Лаксмана. Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. Сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1795. 16 с. 8°.

Первый тираж — 220 экз. Печатано за счет автора — полковника Лаксмана, заплатившего 17 марта 1795 г. за набор, печать и бумагу 7 руб. 42 коп. Затем было допечатано 150 экз. на александрийской бумаге, за которые автор заплатил 19 июля 1795 г. 5 руб. 50 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 3, 5.

16 (СК 3420). Лаксман, Эрик (Laxman Erik, 1737—1796). О селитре. Разсуждение Лаксмана. Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. Сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1795. 24 с. 8°.

Тираж — 220 экз. Печатано за счет автора — полковника Лаксмана, заплатившего 1 июня 1795 г. за набор, печать и бумагу 10 руб. 50 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 4 об.

17 (СК 3897). Майков, Аполлон Александрович (1761—1838). Ода на день рождения е.и.в. великой княжны Ольги Павловны... Санкт-Петербург, тип. Сухопутн. кад. корпуса, 1792. 5 с. 8°.

Тираж — 85 экз. Печатано за счет автора, заплатившего 15 июля 1792 г. 6 руб.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 5 об.

18 (СК 3899). Майков, Аполлон Александрович (1761—1838). Стихи на мир их имп. высочествам великим князьям Александру Павловичу и Константину Павловичу... Санкт-Петербург, тип. Сухопутн. кад.

корпуса, 1792. 10 с. 4°.

Тираж — 150 экз. Напечатано за счет автора, заплатившего 6 апреля 1792 г. 7 руб. 50 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 4.

19 (СК 4988). Описание торжества празднованного в Шклове его превосходительством Семеном Гавриловичем Зоричем 1793 го года 22 го сентября... Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. сухопутном кад. корпусе, 1794. 19 с. 8°.

Тираж — 110 экз. Отпечатано за счет 'господина Браневского', заплатившего 10 октября 1794 г. 5 руб. 62 1/2 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3830. Л. 6.

20 (СК 5502). Поп, Александр (1688—1744). Элоиза к Абеларду. Ироида. Вольный перевод с французского творения г. Коллардо В. Озеровым. Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. Сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1794. 32 с. 8°.

Напечатано за счет переводчика — 'бывшего кадетского подпорутчика Озерова', заплатившего 29 марта 1795 г. 16 руб.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 3 об.

21 (СК 5994). Рихтер, Август Готлиб (1742—1812). Начальные основания рукодеятельныя врачебныя науки... Переведенныя Матвеем Пекеном, надворным советником и профессором при Кронштатском врачебном училище. Ч. 1—3. Санкт-Петербург, при Имп. Шляхетн. сухопутн. кад. корпусе, 1791—1795. 8°.

Печатано за счет переводчика М. Пекена. За напечатание 2-й части им было заплачено в 1791 г. — 100 руб., 13 сентября 1792 г. — 150 руб., 21 декабря 1792 г. — 100 руб., 26 января 1793 г. — 79 руб., а за напечатание 3-й части 20 июня 1794 г. — 100 руб., 14 марта 1795 г. — 250 руб., 23 мая 1795 г. — 115 руб.

Тираж 3-й части — 1200 экз.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 6 об., 7; Д. 3818. Л. 2; Д. 3830. Л. 4 об.; Д. 3857. Л. 3, 4.

22 (СК 7816). Флориан, Жан Пьер Клари (1755—1794). Новые новости г. Флориана. Перевел с франц. яз. П.Х. Безак. Во граде св. Петра, тип. Сухопутн. кад. корпуса, 1792. 262 с. 8°.

Тираж — 900 экз. Напечатано за счет переводчика — 'кадетского поручика' Павла Безака, заплатившего 1 февраля 1793 г. 82 руб., а 20 июня 1793 г. — 50 руб.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3818. Л. 2 об., 3 об.

23 (СК 8140). Чекалевский, Петр Петрович (1751—1817). Разсуждение о

свободных художествах с описанием некоторых произведений российских художников... Санкт-Петербург, тип. Сухопутн. кад. корпуса, 1792. 3, 231, 1 с. 8°.

Тираж — 600 экз. Напечатано за счет автора, заплатившего 17 августа 1793 г. 110 руб. 62 1/2 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3818. Л. 4.

24 (СК 8612). Эмин, Николай Федорович (ум. 1814). Его сиятельству милостивому государю графу Платону Александровичу Зубову на случай всемилостивейшаго пожалования ордена святого апостола Андрея Первозванного. Б.м., 1793. 6 с. 4°.

Тираж — 215 экз. Отпечатано в типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса за счет автора, заплатившего 27 июня 1793 г. 5 руб.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3818. Л. 4.

25 (СК Разыск. 468). Дйоррнен, Катарина Елена. Новаго роду игрушка, или Забавныя и нравоучительныя сказки... Изд. 2-е. Санкт-Петербург, 1794. 8°.

Архивные материалы подтверждают существование данного издания, печатавшегося в типографии Сухопутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса. 23 января 1795 г. по резолюции главного директора корпуса М.И. Кутузова было уплачено 26 руб. 35 1/2 коп. за издержанную на его печатание бумагу.

В 1795 г. на складе при типографии оставалось для реализации 1155 экз. (5 — на белой, 1150 — на серой). Видимо, данная цифра близка к общему тиражу издания.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 2, 117 об.

26 (СК IV.226). Санктпетербургския врачебныя ведомости. Иждивением И. Герстенберга. Ч. 1—2. Санкт-Петербург, тип. Акад. наук, 1792—1794. 4°.

Архивные документы подтверждают сделанное в СК предположение о том, что 2-я часть, 'судя по шрифтам, напечатана в тип. Сухопутн. кад. корпуса'. Издатель журнала И. Герстенберг неоднократно платил Корпусу 'за напечатание врачебных ведомостей'. Так, он заплатил 24 декабря 1793 г. — 85 руб., 28 марта 1794 г. — 54 руб., 24 мая 1794 г. — 54 руб., 3 июня 1794 г. — 18 руб., 19 июля 1794 г. — 27 руб., 21 декабря 1795 г. — 'долговых' 55 руб.

Тираж листов 2-й части — 605 экз., т.е. по сравнению с 1-й частью он сократился вдвое.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3818. Л. 5; Д. 3830. Л. 3 об., 4 об., 5; Д. 3857. Л. 6.

Издания на иностранных языках

27 (СКИн. 112). Amusemens philologiques... Seconde edition. Т. 1—4. Saint-Pétersbourg, de l'imprimerie du Corps Impérial des Cadets Nobles, 1794—1796.

Тираж 3-го тома — 1400 экз. (50 — на любской, 1350 — на коментарной бумаге). В 1795 г. на складе при типографии оставалось для реализации: Т. 1. — 1099 экз. (100 из них отпущены в классы), Т. 2. — 1100 экз. (из них 150 — отпущены для 'кадет в классы'), Т. 3. — 1400 экз. (из них 400 — отпущены для 'кадет в классы').

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 116, 117, 119.

28 (СКИн. 157). L'Arbrisseau et les oiseaux: Fable. [Saint-Pétersbourg, de l'Imprimerie du Corps Impérial des cadets nobles de terre, 1794]. 4 с. 8°.

Тираж — 1000 экз. Оплачен за счет 'корпусного главного начальника' графа Ф.А. Ангальта, уплатившего 3 марта 1794 г. 13 руб. 22 коп. В 1795 г. на складе при типографии оставалось 54 экз.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3830. Л. 3; Д. 3857. Л. 116 об.

29 (СКИн. 375). Besack, Gottlieb Christian (1727—1800). Philosophische Aufsätze. St. Petersburg, gedruckt beym kaiserlichen adelichen Landkadettenkorps, 1792. 2, 24, 112 с. 8°.

Тираж — 450 экз. Судя по тому, что бумага на издание оплачивалась по резолюции главного начальника Корпуса, оно являлось заказом Сухонутного Шляхетного кадетского корпуса.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 3.

30 (СКИн. 1203). Guthrie, Matthew (ум. 1807). Dissertations sur les antiquités de Russie... Saint-Pétersbourg, de l'imprimerie du Corps Impérial des Cadets Nobles, 1795. 4, 1—216, 4, 217—239 с.; 7 л. ил., нот. 8°.

Тираж — 1024 экз. Напечатано за счет автора — надворного советника и доктора Гутри, заплатившего 22 декабря 1795 г. 153 руб. 75 коп.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3857. Л. 6.

31 (СКИн. Периодика. 190). Auswahl ökonomischer Abhandlungen welche die freye ökonomische Gesellschaft in St Petersburg... Bd. 1—4. St Petersburg, gedruckt beym Kaiserlichen Adelichen Land-kadettenkorps, 1790—1793. 8°.

Тираж 3-й части — 600 экз. Она напечатана за счет Кабинета Ее Императорского величества, деньги из которого были получены 31 января 1792 г.

РГВИА. Ф. 314. Оп. 1. Д. 3806. Л. 2 об.

‘To Prohibit in Accordance with Due Procedure . . .’: The Censorship Policy of Narkompros RSFSR, 1926

M. V. Zelenov

Introduction

This article presents extracts from the reports of meetings held in 1926 by the leading organs of the People's Commissariat for Education (Narkompros) of the RSFSR which dealt with censorship. The choice of the year 1926 is deliberate, and has been made for the following reasons.

It is well known that the central censorship organ for the USSR was Glavlit (the Chief Administration for Literature and Publishing), which was set up in 1922. Under a resolution of the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), it was administratively subordinated to Narkompros RSFSR. In 1923 a Committee for Repertoire Control (Glavrepertkom, GRK) was set up and attached to Glavlit, charged with granting permission for theatrical, musical and cinema performances. From 1925 onwards Glavrepertkom also had the power to supervise the repertoire of the State Academic Theatres. At the same time, on the initiative of its head, P. I. Lebedev-Polianskii, Glavlit also began to extend the range of its functions to include monitoring publishers' plans, specifying their coverage and eliminating duplication in their operations, even though these functions were already being partly performed by the Party Central Committee's Press Department. Besides that, Lebedev-Polianskii planned to bring under his department's control not only the Soviet state publishing-houses (GIZ and others), but also the Party publishers, such as the Central Committee itself, which would unquestionably have restricted the functions of the CC Press Department. In December 1925, at the fourteenth Party Congress, the CC Press Department was subjected to criticism by the Chairman of the Central Revision Commission, who proposed that it should concern itself exclusively with ideological work, with its functions separated from those of Glavlit, the Book Chamber and the Committee for Press Affairs (which handled questions of book production). In addition, in November 1925 the Politburo set up a commission to examine the work of Glavlit and Glavrepertkom. Hence 1926 was in a sense a time of reappraisal for these departments: they had to render an account of their work to the Central Committee and also, if possible, strengthen their authority. This led to conflict between Glavrepertkom, Glavlit (and hence Narkompros too) and the Central Committee apparatus. This conflict can be followed through the documents published here, which demonstrate the degree of autonomy enjoyed by a Soviet administrative organ (Narkompros), demolishing the legend

of the 'total' subordination of the state administrative apparatus to the 'all-powerful' Communist Party.

The year 1926 is of interest not only for the new stage in Stalin's struggle against the political opposition but also for the shift in ideological policy, including that which affected the literary process. On 18 June 1925 a resolution of the Politburo, 'On Party policy in the field of literature' identified 'an indulgent attitude to transitional ideological forms', and the Party refused to support any single literary grouping, including the 'Ultra-Left' group of proletarian writers who rejected the heritage of classicism. However, staff in the censorship, and especially in Glavrepertkom, had no wish to reform and adopted a fairly dogmatic, 'class' attitude towards literary works (film scripts, plays and so on). This brought down a storm of protests from authors and playwrights against Glavrepertkom's decisions, as a consequence of which the Narkompros Collegium was obliged to intervene in the literary process, acting as a court of appeal between society and the organs of censorship. This, too, is reflected in the documents published here.

As will be evident from the documents, a special role was played in Glavrepertkom's work by the Combined Chief Political Administration (the OGPU), one of whose departments performed a censorship function. Its representative sat on the Council of Glavrepertkom, where he followed a hard-line policy, aimed not only at strengthening the censorship but also at setting Glavrepertkom against the Narkompros Collegium and subordinating Glavrepertkom's activity to his own department instead of to the Collegium. Evidence of this also appears in the documents.

Glavlit and Glavrepertkom, then, formed part of the Narkompros apparatus. The leading organs of that ministry (at that time a People's Commissariat), that is to say the Collegium and its Presidium, took decisions on a wide range of matters to do with administering and regulating the activity of this and other parts of the Narkompros apparatus, including the Chief Political Education Committee (Glavpolitprosvet, GPP). One component of the GPP was its Artistic Committee for the Cinema, whose functions included the censorship of film scripts and the artistic and ideological supervision of film production. This overlapped with the functions of Glavrepertkom, which censored the completed films. Some of the resolutions published here concern the regulation of relations between Glavrepertkom, Glavpolitprosvet and the Central Committee's Cinema Commission, which also exercised ideological control over film production and screening.

The sessions of the Narkompros Collegium and its Presidium were not minuted in full. Only a short report was drawn up, which recorded those attending, the chairman and secretary of the session, the subject of each item discussed, and the decisions taken on them. Reports were signed by the chairman (or someone acting on his behalf) and by the secretary of each session. Some

sessions were held with limited participation, being described as 'closed' and for representatives of certain branches and departments of Narkompros only. The closed sessions were not numbered. Numbers for them were allocated later (it is not known when), so it is not possible to say for certain whether the reports of the closed sessions have come down to us in full. As a rule, the closed sessions dealt with matters of a political or acutely ideological nature. A special role in decision-making was played by V. N. Iakovleva, deputy to the liberal People's Commissar for Education, A. V. Lunacharskii. Iakovleva had held leading posts in the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (the Cheka) in 1918–1919, and in 1923 had been close to the Trotskyists. From 1922 to 1929 she was Lunacharskii's chief aide, taking upon herself all the administrative work, the political settlement of various disputes, and decisions on staffing problems. Nearly all the preparatory documents for sessions of the leading Narkompros organs carry her direction to the secretary: 'Receive instructions from me'. Lunacharskii described his ultra-left-leaning deputy as 'the Théroigne de Méricourt¹ of the Russian Revolution'.

I have scanned all the session reports of the Narkompros leading organs from the 1920s, apart from those for 1925, which I have examined only partially. Forty-eight 'censorship' items were found in the reports for 1926, compared with 16 resolutions on censorship in 1922, 37 in 1923, 15 in 1924, 57 in 1927, 39 in 1928 and 21 in 1929. In 1927 there are a particularly large number of resolutions settling disputes between literary figures and the censorship departments. For 1926 the resolutions can be grouped as follows:

- (1) Matters concerning the administrative direction of Glavlit and Glavrepertkom (staff appointments, permission for leave, financial arrangements, the amendment and interpretation of regulatory documents, relations between these organs and the Central Committee and so on). From this group I have selected the most significant resolutions (on the assistant to the head of Glavlit, on the chairman of Glavrepertkom, and on the reports of Glavlit and Glavrepertkom to the Central Committee).
- (2) Questions relating to the prohibition of individual literary works or plays, such as complaints from the anarchist A. M. Atabekian on the banning of his article, and from the playwrights Narimanov, Smolin and Lunin about the prohibition on the publication or staging of their plays. From this group, resolutions on the complaint by the writer N. A. Krasheninnikov, and on the plays by Bulgakov, are published here.
- (3) Matters affecting the demarcation of censorship functions between the various organs in charge of press affairs. One resolution from this group

¹ Anne-Joseph Théroigne de Méricourt (1762–1817): French revolutionary militant feminist [Transl.].

is published here.

- (4) Questions to do with the control of cinema films and radio broadcasts. Resolutions concerning cinema censorship are published.
- (5) Questions concerning relations with Sovnarkom, prompted by Glavlit's exceeding its powers of censorship. Two resolutions are published.

In this way a representative selection is offered which reveals the full spectrum of the relationships between Glavlit, Glavrepertkom and Narkompros RSFSR, on the one hand, with the structures of power on the other.

In the reports, the text of resolutions is set out in two columns (headed 'Heard' and 'Resolved'). Here, the heading of the agenda item ('Heard') is shown as the title of the resolution, while the text in the 'Resolved' column is given below it. The number of the agenda item is shown next to the number of the report.

No. 1

Resolution of a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: 'Application by the writer N. A. Krasheninnikov² regarding the prohibition by GRK of the new text for Glinka's opera *A Life for the Tsar*, entitled by him *Minin*'.

12 January 1926

Report No. 2. Item No. 1.

Chairman: Comrade Khodorovskii. Secretary: Comrade Koval'skaia.

Resolved:

- (1) To instruct Glavrepertkom that there are no grounds for the prohibition of this text.
- (2) To postpone the question of the possibility of staging this opera at the Bolshoi Academic State Theatre until Comrade Lunacharskii's return.

GARF. FA-2306. Op.69. D.573. L.6. Typescript. On L.7, signatures in ink of Iakovleva, Khodorovskii, Epshtein and Pokrovskii. On L.20 the words 'closed session' are missing. The session number '20' is crossed out.

Commentary

The plot of Glinka's opera 'Life for the Tsar' (originally entitled 'Ivan Susanin') is set during the Time of Troubles, when the home guard, led by Kuz'ma Minin, Mayor of Nizhnii Novgorod, and the Moscow Prince Dmitrii Pozharskii, was resisting the invading coalition of Poles and Swedes. It tells

² Nikolai Aleksandrovich Krasheninnikov (1878–1941): writer. He portrayed the life of the Bashkirs, during the Soviet period produced books about the events of the Revolution and Civil War, and wrote a number of dramatizations of Russian and foreign classics. Awarded the Diploma of Honour of the Presidium of the Bashkir ASSR Supreme Soviet (1939).

how the peasant hero Ivan Susanin sacrifices his life by leading a group of marauding Poles, intent on finding the hiding place of Tsar Mikhail Romanov, into a marsh. It had its premiere in 1836 (with a libretto by Baron Rosen), and was acclaimed by Nicholas I. The Soviet government banned it because of its pro-monarchist sentiments, though some adaptations were performed in the 1920s, including a version put on in Odessa in 1924, transposed to 1917 and entitled 'Hammer and Sickle'.

Krasheninnikov passed his libretto to Glavrepertkom for approval on 25 November 1925. The theatre critic V. I. Blium, Head of the Theatre and Music Section of Glavrepertkom, wrote an appraisal of it, pointing out its underlying class attitudes and political errors: the home guard (Minin) was fighting 'against the Cossacks' ('a people in rebellion') and so was 'nationalistic', and 'oblique aspersions were cast on a revolutionary people—the Cossacks'. The conclusion was simple—to ban the text.³ The secret initiators of the ban were the leftist literary critics A. K. Voronskii and G. Lelevich, members of the Politburo Commission which from November 1925 began investigating Glavrepertkom and Glavlit. Soon afterwards, on 6 December 1925, Blium (under the pseudonym 'Sadko') published an article in the Leningrad *Krasnaia gazeta* 'A Life ... for Minin'. Blium was outraged that the author of the libretto had put into the place of Tsar 'that fellow' Minin, who had organised resistance against the 'foreign domination of the Poles'. This censor and critic wittily observed that such a scenario was taken from the works of the pre-revolutionary historian Zabelin. The force of Blium's remark lies in the fact that Krasheninnikov is presented as someone who is attempting to draw a veil over the class and counterrevolutionary nature of the home guard, fighting not only against the Poles, but the Cossacks, who in conjunction with the foreign invaders had seized Moscow. 'The Cossacks', wrote Blium, 'are a peasant revolution, trying to overthrow the Muscovite social order', and Krasheninnikov places their class enemy (the wealthy cattle-dealer, i.e. the bourgeois Minin) on a pedestal. All this 'people's revolution' firework around the historical figure of Minin is simply a chauvinistic intoxicant, distorting historical reality. Therefore 'A Life for Minin' is not a jot better than 'A Life for the Tsar'. Krasheninnikov protested to Narkompros about Glavrepertkom's decision. Deputy Commissar V. N. Iakovleva asked for an explanation of the grounds of Glavrepertkom's decision. Blium sent her a letter, a copy of his appraisal as political editor, newspaper reviews of the production of the opera, and an excerpt from the Paris journal *Comoedia*, which closed with the words: 'A Life for the Tsar' has been changed into a life for ... the bourgeois'). The Secretary of Narkompros Koval'skaia asked the members of the Narkompros Collegium for their opinion on the libretto. M. N. Pokrovskii, M. S. Epshtein and O. Iu.

³ F. 2306. Op. 69. D. 596. L. 24.

Shmidt⁴ spoke up in favour of the text of the libretto, finding nothing seditious in it. Deputy Commissar I. I. Khodorovskii and V. N. Meshcheriakov refused to read the libretto because of lack of time.⁵ On 12 January 1926 V. N. Iakovleva circulated the text of the resolution cited above. The same text was passed as a decree of the Praesidium of the Collegium of Narkompros (Pr. No. 3. p. 20). See also Document no. 2 (below).

This decree was to be the prelude to a turning point in the history of the staging of the opera, and in the history of Soviet ideology. The theme of the opera was used after the new ideological turning point in the writing of the history of Russia which Stalin brought about in 1934–1936. In 1936 Mikhail Bulgakov wrote a libretto for the opera ‘Minin and Pozharskii’ (music by B. V. Asaf’ev). But a change in ideological policy with the place of the ‘enemy’ now being occupied not by the Russian exploiters but by the Polish interventionists) prevented it from being staged. Apart from this it was now a requirement to show how the man of the people Minin was correcting the politically unreliable ‘member of the intelligentsia’ Pozharskii, and how the boyar bosses were wrecking the Fatherland (note that in 1937–1938 the political trials were to take place).

While ‘Minin and Pozharskii’ was being prepared the Bolshoi decided to put on ‘A Life for the Tsar’, the first performance since 1925, with a new libretto by Sergei Gorodetskii. It opened in 1939. Instead of God and the Tsar, the People and the Motherland were glorified. The name featuring in Glinka’s original draft ‘Ivan Susanin’ was restored, and the libretto was radically changed. Susanin set out to save not the Tsar, but Minin and his fellow soldiers. Stalin, who attended a rehearsal, proposed that the last scene be kept, contrary to the censors, who had proposed that the chorus of ‘Glory to the Tsar!’ be cut out. Stalin suggested that Minin and Pozharskii ride out of the Kremlin gates on horseback and force the defeated Poles to their knees. This ideological manoeuvre was connected with acute complications in Soviet–Polish relations.

This variant of the opera persisted until 1989, when the Bolshoi attempted a production of the original version, with almost complete restoration of Rosen’s libretto, but it was only in 2003–2004 that the full original text was used when Valerii Gergiev put on ‘A Life for the Tsar’ in the Marinsky Theatre.

No. 2

Resolution of a closed session of the Narkompros Collegium: ‘Protest by Glavrepertkom against the resolution of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium dated 12 January 1926 concerning the prohi-

⁴ For his appraisal, see F. 2306. Op. 69. D. 596. L. 11–11v.

⁵ Ibid., D. 596. L. 10.

bition by GRK of the new text for Glinka's opera *A Life for the Tsar*, entitled *Minin*'.

25 March 1926

Report No. 15. Item No. 1.

Chairman: Comrade Lunacharskii. Secretary: Comrade Koval'skaia.

Resolved: The general prohibition on *Minin* is considered inexpedient. The staging of this opera at the State Academic Theatres is considered impossible.

GARF. FA-2306. Op.69. D.596. L.5. Typescript.

Commentary

On 20 January 1926 R. A. Pel'she,⁶ the chairman of Glavrepertkom, sent a protest to Iakovleva,⁷ prompted by the resolution of the Narkompros Presidium (published above), which had been adopted without calling in a representative of Glavrepertkom. The letter stated that the work had been prohibited in response to unofficial advice from members of the Politburo commission.⁸ Iakovleva wrote to the secretary on Pel'she's letter: 'Comrade Koval'skaia. For the Presidium agenda 16/II. Not to be communicated to Krashenninnikov'. On 15 February a new application arrived at Narkompros from Krashenninnikov, in which he raised the question of staging the opera with his own libretto and attached a copy of a review published in the newspaper *Bakinskii rabochii* on 31 January. The review stated: 'In the new opera, Minin appears as a symbol of the desire, of which the peasant masses of the people are already conscious, to take upon themselves the building of their own lives. This fundamental idea gives the new theme social, domestic and political significance. To the State Bolshoi Theatre will fall the honour of being the first to present Glinka's immortal masterpiece to the public on its return to the Russian stage.' However, on 9 March the management of the Bolshoi Theatre itself approached Narkompros with the request 'to let us have your opinion about the possibility of going ahead with the staging of the opera *Minin* with N. A. Krashenninnikov's text.'⁹ The sole responsibility for taking the decision lay with Iakovleva, since she had been supervising all the academic theatres since 1924. Her

⁶ Robert Andreevich Pel'she (1880–1955): literary and theatre critic, Meritorious Worker of the Latvian SSR (1945). 1946–1955: director of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. 1920–1924: diplomatic and government work. From 1924 head of the artistic department of Glavpolitprosvet in Narkompros RSFSR. Editor of the journal *Sovetskoe iskusstvo*. Chairman of Glavrepertkom 1925–1926.

⁷ Varvara Nikolaevna Iakovleva (1884–1941): from 1922 to 1929 Deputy People's Commissar for Education; from 6 June 1924 member of the Cinema Commission of the Central Committee's Agitprop Department.

⁸ GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.596. L.8.

⁹ Op. cit., L.17.

verdict¹⁰ somehow calmed down the disputing parties, and the exact wording of the resolution which she drafted appeared in the report. Glavrepertkom subsequently returned twice to the same issue. On 12 April 1926 its leadership adopted the resolution: 'To enable a review of the Narkompros Collegium's resolution to authorize Krashennnikov's libretto of the opera *Minin*, Comrade Pel'she is instructed to join Comrade Iakovleva, as the representative of the Central Committee Agitprop Department, in raising the matter of this opera with the appropriate authorities.'¹¹

No. 3

Resolution of a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On the censorship of cinema films'.

4 May 1926

Report No. 20. Item No. 2.

Present: Comrades Lunacharskii, Iakovleva, Epshtein, Pokrovskii, Meshcheriakov, Comrade Slavinskii (representing the Central Committee of the Artistic Workers' Union), Comrade Vikhrov (representing the Central Committee of the Education Workers' Union).

Chairman: Comrade Lunacharskii. Secretary: Comrade Egorova.

Voting on the question of the immediate amalgamation of functions under the Artistic Council for the Cinema¹² as intended by the resolution of the Cinema Commission¹³ dated 20 November 1925.¹⁴ Comrades Meshcheriakov¹⁵ and Iakovleva voted in favour of this decision. Comrade Lunacharskii¹⁶ voted

¹⁰ Op. cit., L.22.

¹¹ RGASPI. F.17. Op.60. D.808. L.48v.

¹² Glavpolitprosvet's Artistic Council for the Cinema was set up by a decision of the Central Committee's Cinema Commission on 23 June 1924. It exercised ideological control over the cinema, and examined and approved the film production plans of all organizations, film scripts etc. Its statute was confirmed by Narkompros on 19 September 1924.

¹³ The Central Committee's Cinema Commission was created by a resolution of the CC Secretariat on 6 June 1924 'for political control over the work of cinema organisations'.

¹⁴ 'In order to simplify the work of censoring cinema films, it is considered expedient to instruct Glavlit to assign representatives to the Artistic Council for the Cinema attached to Glavpolitprosvet. Films must not be distributed without a certificate of approval from a Glavlit representative'. (Quoted from a letter by Iakovleva. See: *Istoriia Sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury. Dokumenty i kommentarii* (Moskva, 1997), p. 51.)

¹⁵ Vladimir Nikolaevich Meshcheriakov (1885–1946): in 1919 a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian CP; 1922–1928: deputy head of Glavpolitprosvet; from 29 April 1924 Glavpolitprosvet representative on Glavrepertkom; from November 1925 member of the Central Council of the Association of Friends of the Soviet Cinema; from 19 March 1926 member of the Cinema Commission of the Central Committee's Agitprop Department. From 1930 to 1936, diplomatic service in France, Sweden and Norway, after that economic work.

¹⁶ Anatolii Vasil'evich Lunacharskii (1875–1933): from 1917 to 1929 People's Commissar for Education.

against. Comrade Epshtein¹⁷ abstained. Following this vote, Meshcheriakov and Iakovleva held that it was possible to insist on an immediate amalgamation.

Resolved:

(a) To regard as essential the amalgamation of cinema film censorship functions with those of the preliminary examination of film scripts accepted for screening by RSFSR film production organizations.

(b) To regard it as essential to amalgamate these functions under Glavpolitprosvet's Artistic Council for the Cinema, and to abolish the Cinema section of Glavrepertkom.¹⁸

(c) In view of the fact that the Politburo Commission,¹⁹ under the chairmanship of Comrade Stepanov-Skvortsov,²⁰ has expressed itself in favour of amalgamating these functions under Glavrepertkom, to request the Central Committee Cinema Commission to ascertain expeditiously the view of the superior authorities on this question.

(d) To instruct Comrade Lunacharskii to request Comrade Stepanov-Skvortsov to reconvene the Commission in order to consider this question.

GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.576. L.48. Typescript. Report number in ink.

Commentary

V. N. Meshcheriakov reported on this item. Behind the text lies the complex history of relations between Glavrepertkom and Glavlit. As early as February 1925, Pel'she had made proposals for removing duplication in the activities of the various structures within Narkompros and for 'transferring Glavrepertkom from the organizational system of Glavlit into the system of Glavpolitprosvet

¹⁷ Moisei Solomonovich Epshtein (1890–1938): head of Glavsotsvos (Chief Administration for the Social Upbringing and Polytechnical Education of Children in Narkompros); from 23 June 1923 to 29 April 1924 member of Glavrepertkom, then First Deputy People's Commissar for Education. [Arrested and imprisoned—*Transl.*]

¹⁸ The head of the Cinema Section of Glavrepertkom was the political editor Konstantin Afanas'evich Denisov, head of the script department of the Sovkino concern.

¹⁹ A commission of the Politburo formed in November 1925 to examine the activities of Glavlit and Glavrepertkom. Its members included Lunacharskii, Lebedev-Polianskii, Pel'she and Meshcheriakov. On 15 April 1926 Skvortsov-Stepanov informed the Politburo that the commission had completed its work. On 17 May the CC Orgburo adopted the resolution: '5 (a) To consider the work of the commission completed. (b) The Orgburo to receive within one month a report from Glavlit and an accompanying report from the CC Press Department on the work of Glavlit [...]. (g) The Orgburo to receive within two months a report from Glavrepertkom and an accompanying report from the Central Committee Agitprop Department on the work of Glavrepertkom [...]' (RGASPI. F.17. Op.113. D.196. L.3). On 20 May the Politburo confirmed this resolution. It would therefore appear that the Politburo Commission was not called upon to address the cinema question.

²⁰ Ivan Ivanovich Stepanov-Skvortsov (1870–1928): from 1925 editor of *Izvestiia*, deputy editor of *Pravda*, editor of *Leningradskaia Pravda*; member of the RKP(b) Central Committee. [More commonly referred to as Skvortsov-Stepanov—*Transl.*]

while disbanding the Artistic Department's Repertory Commissions'.²¹ However, on 23 March 1926 Pel'she put it to the Narkompros Collegium, the head of Glavlit (Lebedev-Polianskii) and the deputy head of Glavpolitprosvet (Meshcheriakov) that the preliminary examination of film scripts and the censorship of completed films were functions that should, on the contrary, be amalgamated under Glavrepertkom, since Glavpolitprosvet had no funds to maintain a censorship apparatus.²² At the session, Meshcheriakov and Iakovleva, as representatives of the Central Committee's Cinema Commission, defended the CC's standpoint. Besides this they probably tried to limit the functions of Glavrepertkom and strengthen the censorship functions of Glavpolitprosvet. On 14 May 1926 the CC Cinema Commission reconsidered its decision, which led to Iakovleva sending a protest to the CC Orgburo on 16 June. However, after six months the Narkompros Collegium came down in favour of amalgamating censorship functions under Glavrepertkom (see Document No. 12). On 23 November 1926 the CC Orgburo decided to abolish Glavpolitprosvet's Artistic Council for the Cinema and to transfer its functions to Glavrepertkom.

No. 4

Resolution of a closed session of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On appointing Comrade Alekseev as assistant head of Glavlit and a member of its Collegium'.

6 May 1926

Report No. 19/679.

Present: Lunacharskii, Pokrovskii, Iakovleva, Krupskaia, Khodorovskii, Epshtein, Knorin, Nagovitsyn.

Chairman: Lunacharskii. Secretary: Egorova.

Resolved: To appoint Comrade Alekseev,²³ deputy head of the OGPU Information and Political Control Department, as assistant head of Glavlit and a member of its Collegium.

GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.597. L.6. Typescript copy.

Commentary

The practice of appointing an assistant head of Glavlit from the heads of the

²¹ *Istoriia Sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury* (note 14), p. 273.

²² RGASPI. F.17. Op.60. D.808. L.21 and 21v.

²³ Nikolai Nikolaevich Alekseev (1893–1937): in 1917 Central Committee member of the Ukrainian Left SRs (Borot'bisty); from 1919 member of the VKP(b), from 1 July 1925 to 15 July 1926 assistant head, later head (until 1930) of the Information and Political Control Department of the OGPU SSSR; from 1932 to 1934 head of the West Siberian Area of the NKVD Administration; 1935 assistant head of the GULag of NKVD SSSR. Executed.

OGPU Political Control Department arose in 1922 (initially they were deputy heads of Glavlit), and stemmed from the fact that, from 1921, the Political Control Department was assigned censorship functions (inspection of correspondence, surveillance of printing works, etc.). From 1922 the department exercised political control over theatres, cinemas, etc. Previous to Alekseev, the deputy (assistant) heads of Glavlit from the OGPU Information Department were V. F. Ashmarin, B. E. Etingof and I. Z. Surta.

On 1 November 1925 the Political Control Department was combined with the Information Department as the Information and Political Control Department. On 5 March 1931 this department was combined with the Secret Department as the Secret Political Department.

No. 5

Resolution of a closed session of the Narkompros Collegium: 'Report on the activity of Glavlit'.

8 July 1926

Report No. 37. Item No. 1.

Chairman: A. V. Lunacharskii.

Resolved:

(1) The Narkompros Collegium regards it as appropriate that instructions from the Central Committee Press Department should be drawn up in a Soviet manner. At the same time the Collegium considers that direction by the Press Department should still leave Glavlit with the autonomy necessary for its routine practical work.

(2) To recognize the necessity for taking measures to protect proletarian literature as well as literature in general.

(3) To instruct Comrades Iakovleva and Lebedev-Polianskii, on the basis of the Narkompros Collegium's decisions, to agree a draft resolution for the Orgburo of the Central Committee.

GARF F.2306. Op.69. D.599. L.1. Typescript copy.

Commentary

Lebedev-Polianskii reported on this item. He was able to secure the Collegium's backing for his line against the position of the CC Press Department, with which he had been in a state of conflict since May 1926.²⁴ In June 1926 the Press Department accused Glavlit of using an unpublished instruction from the Politburo in its work, and of not coordinating prohibitions or permissions for new publications with the Press Department. This is what provoked

²⁴ For further detail on this, see: M. V. Zelenov, *Apparat TsK RKP(b)—VKP(b): tsenzura i istoricheskaia nauka v 1920-e gg.* (Nizhnii Novgorod, 2000).

the first point of the resolution. A report from Glavlit to the Orgburo had been planned for 11 June but, following an application by Lebedev-Polianskii to V. M. Molotov on 5 June, this was postponed to September 1926. Making use of the time gained, Glavlit had its vital arguments passed by the Narkompros Collegium.

The draft resolution for the Orgburo was prepared by Lebedev-Polianskii and underwent editorial revision by Iakovleva (no earlier than 15 June). It included steps towards an organizational rapprochement between Glavlit and the CC Press Department, but moved in the direction of widening the functions of the censorship:

(2) In order to strengthen Glavlit, it is to be brought closer to the central Party organs, to intensify the Party's briefing of Glavlit, [...] and mutual representation on the collegiums of the Press Department and Glavlit should be restored. (3) The basic guiding instructions for Glavlit are to be reviewed, made to correspond to the demands of the current political situation, and approved by the superior Party organs. [...] (5) Glavlit is to assume responsibility for (a) the preliminary and subsequent examination of all literature previously excluded from its jurisdiction; (b) the scrutiny and approval of publishers' definitive production plans; and (c) determining the publishing plans of individual departments and institutions. 6. The Press Department and Glavlit are to review the editorial apparatus of the major publishing-houses and publications, eliminating the practice of setting up fictitious editors, and following a policy of instituting individual responsible editors.²⁵ 7. The list of permitted and prohibited foreign press publications is to be reviewed and then approved by the Politburo [...].²⁶

On 20 July a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium adopted a resolution postponing approval of this document until September.²⁷ On a copy of this resolution sent by Iakovleva, she anxiously asked the Collegium secretariat to get Khodorovskii to follow the matter up if she was on leave.²⁸

The draft resolution prepared by Glavlit was rejected at a meeting of the Orgburo on 4 October 1926. Instead of taking a definite decision, the Orgburo set up a new commission to bring forward proposals arising from Glavlit's report.

²⁵ This refers to the ploy sometimes adopted by publishers if they thought a work was likely to be forbidden, of naming as editor in the preliminaries a Communist Party literary critic or historian, so as to increase its chances of getting past the censor.

²⁶ GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.514. L.3.

²⁷ Op. cit. D.577. L.10.

²⁸ Op. cit. D.514. L.7.

No. 6

Resolution of the Narkompros Collegium: 'Report on the work of Glavlit'.

8 July 1926

Report No. 31/691. Item No. 1.

Present: Comrades Lunacharskii, Iakovleva, Epshtein, Meshcheriakov, Shmidt, Lebedev-Polianskii, Mansurov, Kasatkin, Kristi, Perel' and Makovskii.

Chairman: A. V. Lunacharskii.

Resolved:

- (1) That the work of Glavlit is recognized as being correct and in accordance with its remit.
- (2) That it is considered appropriate to subject all literature (i.e. including that published by GIZ and other Party-Soviet publishers and departments) to the control of Glavlit.
- (3) That it is necessary for Glavlit to be given responsibility for the preliminary examination of the publishing plans of all publishing-houses, while the basic principles which should underlie the publishing plans must be approved in advance by the Narkompros Collegium.

GARF F.2306. Op.69. D.588. L.9-9 ob. Typescript copy.

Commentary

Lebedev-Polianskii reported on this item. The text of his report to the Narkompros Collegium is reproduced here in a much shortened form.

[...] 9. During the period just ended [apparently the year 1925—*Transl.*], 683 books have been published with amendments by Glavlit, of which 165 had amendments of a political-ideological nature and 518 were amended on the basis of the secret economic-military list. Ideological corrections predominantly affected private publishers, but even Party publishing-houses did not avoid them (17 books). Contraventions of the secret list occurred principally in publications issued by professional and Party organisations and those of People's Commissariats.

10. In 1925 approval was refused entirely to 76 books from publishing-houses and 44 occasional publications. The average of prohibitions was 1.3% and for private publishers 3.6%. This low percentage is explained by the fact that manuscripts are frequently printed abroad under a variety of pseudonyms; some are kept back by the authors; some circulate from hand to hand; and some are printed by publishers and publications not subject to censorship.

11. In response to complaints of oppressive action by Glavlit, the Politburo set up a commission, which accepted that Glavlit's activities were in accord with the demands of the time and carried out in conformity with the relevant directives. It was agreed that the complaints were unfounded.

12. The work which has begun on specifying the coverage of publishing-houses must be pursued further. It is also necessary to remove duplication in the publishing industry, even if this means the closure of publishers. Glavlit must inspect and approve not only lists of forthcoming titles, but also specific publishing plans [...].

15. The disputes between Glavlit and the Committee for Press Affairs are as good as over. The functions allocated to the Committee are exclusively economic and financial, while Glavlit's functions are administrative, political and ideological in character.

16. Glavlit is facing a very substantial expansion in its activities, arising from the abolition of the category of publishers and publications not subject to censorship, the transfer to it of control over radio broadcasting, and the introduction of night work. An increase in staff will be required from the beginning of the new financial year.²⁹

A resolution of the Central Committee Orgburo of 17 May 1926 on the commission's report recorded a ruling by the Politburo: '(v) The CC Press Department is instructed to consider the advisability of extending censorship by Glavlit to GIZ and other Party-Soviet publishers.'³⁰ On 4 October 1926 a session of the Orgburo heard a report on the activity of Glavlit, but no proposals arising from the report were prepared. A commission was set up for this purpose, consisting of Gusev, Vasil'evskii, Lebedev-Polianskii, Lunacharskii, Knorin and Shkiriakov. On 12 October 1926 the Presidium of the Glavlit Collegium altered the phrasing of this item in the resolution. It was decided that the second sub-clause should read as follows: 'It is considered appropriate to transfer to the control of Glavlit that literature which is exempted from censorship by the Sovnarkom decree of 6 June 1922.'³¹

No. 7

Resolution of a closed session of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On the report of Glavrepertkom to the Orgburo of the VKP(b) Central Committee'.

29 July 1926

Report No. 42.

Chairman: Lunacharskii. Secretary: Koval'skaia.

Resolved: To instruct Comrade Pel'she to submit the summary of his report for approval by the Narkompros Collegium before submitting it to the Orgburo.

²⁹ F.2306. Op. 69. D.514. L.13-14. Another part of this report is published in: *Tsenzura v Sovetskom Soiuzhe. 1917-1991: dokumenty*, sost. A. V. Blum (Moscow, 2004), pp.97-98, at the date 28 December 1925.

³⁰ RGASPI. F.17. Op.113. D.196. L.3.

³¹ GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.570. L.7v.

GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.589. L.60. Typescript.

Commentary

Under an Orgburo resolution of 17 May 1926, Glavrepertkom had to produce a report for the Orgburo (and the CC Agitprop Department an accompanying report) 'within two months'. A preliminary discussion of the report took place at a meeting with N. V. Mal'tsev, the deputy head of the CC Agitprop Department, who proposed 'increasing the strictness, centralizing control, and protecting Glavrepertkom from outside influences'.³² On 12 July 1926 a session of Glavrepertkom considered the question: 'On Comrade Pel'she's report to the Orgburo of the VKP(b) Central Committee'. This was where fundamental differences of opinion between its own members about the status and functions of Glavrepertkom came to the surface. Pel'she told the meeting:

... we must prepare regulations which enable a clear approach to our day-to-day operations, for example in our evaluation of works submitted. The theatre has both an old and a new repertoire. The old one contains the classics as well as petty-bourgeois works: we should take a cautious approach to presenting the classics, but follow a strong line over what is petty-bourgeois. From the new repertoire we should demand clarity of purpose and fulfillment of concept. We must also take a firm attitude towards Soviet films, and it is time to begin gradually putting pressure on foreign imports. The circus also requires greater strictness towards its repertoire, as does the variety stage. The successful adaptation of operettas to our present conditions is a vexed question. Up to the present, for example, the degree of chauvinism allowed has been determined by trial and error. There have been different interpretations of what constitutes pornography, and it has not so far been possible to formulate a clear definition of hack-work and petty-bourgeois writing. These times demand clarity in applying definitions to our evaluation of works and productions. In literature, too, we encounter decadent attitudes. We do not reject our heritage, but we must view it critically; we can still learn from the classics but we should take account of a work's artistic value'.³³

The critic A. R. Orlinskii, a RAPP activist (chief editor of the journal *Sovremennyi teatr* 1927–29), spoke in support of allowing the staging of some operettas, remarking that 'our academic theatres are carrying the ideological germs, not of the petty-bourgeois, but of the gentry'. He proposed enlarging the staff of Glavrepertkom at the expense of the representation 'of certain agencies'. The representative of 'a certain agency', namely S. N. Markar'ian, deputy head of the OGPU Department of Information and Political Control (also a member of the CC Agitprop Department's Cinema Commission), spoke against the enlargement of Glavrepertkom, favouring the forma-

³² For the reference to this in Pel'she's speech, see: GARF. F.2306.Op.69. D.599. L.73.

³³ Op. cit., L.72.

tion of a collegium of Glavrepertkom and the Council. Another member of Glavrepertkom, I. S. Isaev (Shelekhes), head of the cultural department of the All-Union Central Council of Trades Unions, spoke of the need to extend the functions of Glavrepertkom, of 'the need to organize social and Party recognition of Glavrepertkom, the strengthening of its links with the CC Agitprop'. The head of Glavrepertkom's theatre section, V. Blum, 'spoke of our loss of the commanding heights'. The upshot of the discussion was that members of Glavrepertkom reached agreement on only one thing—to postpone further consideration of the matter until a later date.³⁴

On 16 July consideration of the Glavrepertkom report was resumed. The principal critic of Pel'she's position was Markar'ian: 'We have to declare our line, and to do that we have to know the views of our Party organizations. But the line of Narkompros has been particularly weak and "liberal". The Central Committee must now issue directives for Glavrepertkom [...]. I have established that there is confusion in the theatres, that it has been impossible to improve the situation through the censorship, that there is wastefulness in the theatres, and the consequence of this is the "liberal policy" of Glavrepertkom, and the line taken over the repertory has weakened. [...] We need a commission with full authority, which will review the extent to which examination should be carried out, and by which agencies: we must deal surgically with these questions. As to where Glavrepertkom will go, my department has the greatest interest in it. It could stay with Narkompros, but our influence will have to be guaranteed, otherwise I can take no responsibility'.³⁵ So the OGPU representative proposed that in future all theatres should be subordinated to the Supreme Economic Council (Vesenkha), so that Narkompros would exert no 'liberal' influences on them. The chairman of Glavrepertkom pointed out that that he had proposed subordinating theatres to the Moscow education department; that under the New Economic Policy a more considered approach should be followed, taking into consideration the commercial aspect of a film or play; and that the deputy head of a Central Committee department and candidate CC member, S. I. Syrtsov, had criticized Glavrepertkom for excessive 'leftism'.³⁶ Orlinskii stressed the harmfulness of external influences, the vagueness of Glavrepertkom's rights and obligations, and the lack of co-ordination between the organs within Narkompros.³⁷ K. A. Denisov, head of the cinema section, supported the reinforcement of cinema censorship, since the strengthening of commercial considerations was leading to the appearance of 'foreign trash'.³⁸ In the end the report was approved and the resolution

³⁴ Op. cit., L.73.

³⁵ Op. cit., L.65, 67, 68.

³⁶ Op. cit., L.65, 67.

³⁷ Op. cit., L.66, 68.

³⁸ Op. cit., L.66.

adopted. Next day Orlinskii sent out a list of 'Corrections and additions to the draft Glavrepertkom resolution', addressed not only to Pel'she but also to the Central Committee, with the proposal that the CC Agitprop Department should regularly give directions to Glavrepertkom about the most pressing issues in its field of operations.³⁹ The text of the report to be sent to the CC Orgburo states the basic regulations on which the work of Glavrepertkom is founded: in the first instance Party instructions and resolutions, and secondly the Soviet statute on Glavlit. The 'expansion of this list' [i.e. of prohibited topics and types of publication—*Transl.*] is of interest:

- (a) Class reconciliation
- (b) Pacifism
- (c) Anarcho-individualism
- (d) Banditry and the romanticising of crime
- (e) Hooliganism and the idealisation of vagrancy
- (f) Apologias for drunkenness and drug-taking
- (g) Pulp literature (cheap 'sensations', books revelling in love affairs and the escapades of 'high' society, poeticising of the lives of night-club singers, etc.)
- (h) Petty-bourgeois literature (idealizing the 'sanctity' of the petty-bourgeois family, cosiness, the subjugation of women, the inviolability of property, etc.)
- (i) Decadence and psycho-pathology (for example, the works of Przybyszewski, Esenin, etc.)
- (j) Crude Sovietisation which is counter-productive.⁴⁰

The cleaned-up version of the report presented to the Orgburo has been published in part.⁴¹ Glavrepertkom's report to the Orgburo, and the draft resolution on this matter were considered at a closed session of the Narkompros Collegium on 15 October 1926. See Document No. 12.

No. 8

Resolution of a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On a response to Comrade Rykov concerning the removal by Glavrepertkom of several plays from the summer repertory of the company appearing at the "Hermitage" Winter Theatre'.

24 August 1926

Report No. 43. Item No. 1.

³⁹ RGASPI. F.17, Op.60, D.808, L.20 and 21v.

⁴⁰ Op. cit., L.69v.

⁴¹ See: *Istoriia Sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury* (note 14), pp. 278–281.

Present: Comrades Pokrovskii, Khodorovskii, Epshtein, Perel', Kravchenko.

Chairman: Comrade Pokrovskii. Secretary: Comrade Egorova.

Resolved: To inform Comrade Rykov⁴² that Glavrepertkom, in removing several plays from the repertory of the company appearing at the 'Hermitage' Winter Theatre,⁴³ had had no intention of placing the company in a difficult position or causing it to suffer any loss, but simply wished to prohibit, in accordance with due procedure, those plays which they intended to remove ^ain such a way that the removal took place after the end of the season^a.

GARF F.2306. Op.69. D.578. L.1. Typescript. The number of the report has been added later.

^{a-a} *Added in Khodorovskii's handwriting.*

Commentary

On 19 August 1926 A. I. Rykov asked Iakovleva about the grounds for the removal of a number of plays (*Charley's Aunt*, etc.) from the repertory of the Korsh theatre, although they had been running for several years. By deleting the plays from the playbills in the middle of the season, Glavrepertkom caused financial losses to the Korsh theatre, since their performances had been attracting the public. Rykov asked for decisions by Glavrepertkom to be notified to theatres at an earlier stage.⁴⁴ Pel'she replied to Khodorovskii's enquiry on 21 August: 'We are dealing with a hack enterprise carrying on its business with one trashy money-spinning production after another.' Pel'she wrote that, although there had not been many acceptable plays in theatres' repertoires some years previously, now, in 1926, the ideological direction of theatres had to be strengthened; and 'as authorized by a directive received from the Central Committee, Glavrepertkom is reviewing its lists, and the summer lull in the theatrical season is just the most suitable time at which cleanse the repertory of harmful old petty-bourgeois trash which is standing in the way of new drama and the Sovietisation of the theatre'.⁴⁵ On 28 August a letter was sent in reply to Rykov's enquiry, signed by Khodorovskii as Deputy People's Commissar for Education, in which he attempted to smooth over the antagonistic situation in the spirit of the resolution by the presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: while Pel'she's letter spoke bluntly about the prohibition of plays, in Khodorovskii's letter (as in the Narkompros resolution) there is a more lenient and apologetic approach to the theatre: 'Glavrepertkom had no intention

⁴² Aleksei Ivanovich Rykov (1881–1938): 1924–1929 chairman of Sovnarkom RSFSR, 1924–30 chairman of Sovnarkom SSSR. [Executed—*Transl.*]

⁴³ In Moscow, on Bozhedomka, on the site of the former Voskresenskii Monastery, there was from the middle of the nineteenth century a large garden in which were a café, a variety stage and also a theatre.

⁴⁴ F.2306. Op.69. D.578. L.5.

⁴⁵ Op. cit., L.4–4v.

of placing the theatre company in an awkward position by this action'⁴⁶

No. 9

Resolution of a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On the actions of Glavlit concerning the publication of the journal *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo*'.

7 September 1926

Report No. 45. Item No. 2.

Present and voting: Comrades Pokrovskii, Khodorovskii and Epshtein.

Present in an advisory capacity: Comrades Mordvinkin, Lie and Kasatkin.

Chairman: Comrade Pokrovskii.

Resolved:

(a) That in view of the fact that the publisher of the journal *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo* is the Central Executive Committee of the USSR (TsIK SSSR), it is completely unnecessary to embark on a fundamental consideration of the need to publish this journal.

(b) To direct Glavlit to grant permission immediately for the publication of the first issue of the journal.

(c) To instruct Comrade Mordvinkin⁴⁷ to give an appropriate explanation in person when the matter is considered by the Central Executive Committee.

GARF F.2306. Op.69. D.579. L.1. Typescript copy.

Commentary

Pokrovskii reported on this item. A dispute had arisen because, under the regulations in force, only Glavlit could give permission for the publication of a new journal. On 7 September 1926 the question 'On the delay by Glavlit of Narkompros RSFSR in allowing publication of the journal *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo*' was discussed at a meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee. It was regarded as essential that this journal should be published; that 'it should be drawn to the attention of Glavlit' that its representative had failed to appear at the meeting; and Pokrovskii was recommended to clear up

⁴⁶ Op. cit., L.3.

⁴⁷ Vladimir Iur'evich Mordvinkin (1889–1946): secondary education; accountant; Social Revolutionary 1907–1910; Bolshevik from 1917; 1919–1921: assistant, then head of the Agitprop department in the GIZ publishing-house, and simultaneously head of the press office of the Cheka Special Department; 1922: secretary, reviewer and political editor of the social-economic department of GIZ; until October 1922 also acting head of Glavlit, then head of Glavlit's department of Russian literature. Appointed deputy head of Glavlit by a resolution of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium on 23 April 1926 (GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.559. L.3). Appointed chairman of Glavrepertkom by resolution of the Central Committee Secretariat on 3 June 1927, holding this post until 20 January 1928. From 1931 worked at the Izogiz publishing-house.

the matter with Narkompros that same day.⁴⁸ On 14 September the question was again taken up by the Narkompros Collegium and it was decided to ask the Central Executive Committee to revoke its reprimand of Glavlit.⁴⁹

No. 10

Resolution of a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On the resolution ^aon the report to the Central Committee^a concerning the distribution of functions between organs in charge of press affairs'.

7 September 1926

Report No. 45. Item No. 3.

Present and voting: Comrades Pokrovskii, Khodorovskii and Epshtein.

Present in an advisory capacity: Comrades Mordvinkin, Lie and Kasatkin.

Chairman: Comrade Pokrovskii.

Resolved:

(3) To instruct Glavlit to present ^bwithin a week concrete^b concepts ^aof its own^a on ^ahow it proposes to comply with^a ^bwhat needs to be done in order to comply with^b the Central Committee's directive on this question.

GARF F.2306. Op.69. D.579. L.1. Typescript copy.

^{a-a} *Crossed out in Khodorovskii's handwriting.*

^{b-b} *In ink above the line in Khodorovskii's handwriting.*

Commentary

At the fourteenth Party Congress in December 1925 the People's Commissar for Justice, D. I. Kurskii, had proposed demarcating the powers and functions of the Central Committee Press Department, Glavlit, the Book Chamber and the Committee for Press Affairs. On 17 May and 7 and 28 June 1926 the Orgburo considered this question and decided that the ideological direction of the press should remain in the charge of the CC Press Department, that the Committee for Press Affairs should handle economic matters, and that Narkompros (the Book Chamber and Glavlit) should carry out the administrative control. On 23 August the Orgburo adopted the definitive resolution 'On the work of Soviet organs for press affairs', which appeared in *Pravda* on 31 August and was published in the *Spravochnik partiinogo rabotnika*.⁵⁰ Under this resolution, certain administrative and ideological functions of Glavlit were transferred to the Press Department and the Committee for Press Affairs.

⁴⁸ Op. cit., Op.69, D.600. L.3.

⁴⁹ Op. cit., L.1.

⁵⁰ Vyp.7, Ch. 2, pp.753–754.

On 6 January 1927 a closed session of the Narkompros Collegium, acting on a report from S. I. Gusev and Lebedev-Polianskii, resolved 'to request Comrade Gusev to expedite the study being conducted jointly with Narkompros on the work of organs within the Narkompros system which deal with the press'. Iakovleva and Lebedev-Polianskii were instructed to prepare a draft resolution on this question.⁵¹

No. 11

Resolution of an emergency closed session of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On the staging at MKhAT I of Bulgakov's play *The Turbins*'.

24 September 1926

Report No. 48. Item No. 1.

Present: Comrades Lunacharskii, Pokrovskii, Khodorovskii, Meshcheriakov, Epshtein and Knorin.

Chairman: Comrade Lunacharskii.

Resolved:

To recognize that Glavrepertkom, by its insistence, has achieved a distinct improvement in Bulgakov's⁵² play *The Turbins*, which is problematic in its theme and treatment; but that this play at the present time remains sensitive.

Taking all the circumstances into account, it is possible to permit MKhAT I to stage the play in the current season, if ^asome^a cuts are made on Glavrepertkom's instructions before the dress rehearsal.

It is considered that this play must be unconditionally banned from all other theatres in the Republic.

To communicate this resolution to the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee, the CC Agitprop Department, the Moscow Committee Agitprop Department, the CC Press Department, the Komsomol Central Committee, the VTsSPS Cultural Department, the secretariat of Comrade Rykov (Chairman of Sovnarkom), and to Comrade Boguslavskii⁵³ (Chairman of the Small Sovnarkom).

GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.600. L.8. Typescript. Signature of Khodorovskii in ink. Number of report added in pencil by hand. Also at: D.579. L.25. Typescript copy without signature.

^{a-a} *Insertion in ink, apparently in Iakovleva's handwriting.*

⁵¹ GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.3405. L.105.

⁵² Mikhail Afanas'evich Bulgakov (1891–1940): author and playwright.

⁵³ Mikhail Solomonovich Boguslavskii (1886–1937): 1924–1927 Chairman of the Small Sovnarkom. [Executed—*Transl.*]

Commentary

The dress rehearsal for the production of *The Turbins* took place on 23 September 1926 in the presence of an audience and of notable Party and state figures. On 25 September the Narkompros Collegium received a letter dated 24 September from Alekseev, the head of the OGPU Departments of Information and of Political Control:

The play by BULGAKOV—*The Turbins* (*The White Guard*)—produced by MKhAT and twice prohibited by Glavrepertkom, was staged for a third time, with some amendments, on 23 September. In view of the fact that these amendments do not alter the basic theme of the play—the idealization of the White officer corps—the OGPU categorically objects to its being staged.⁵⁴

On the letter is a secretarial note, dated 24 September, that Alekseev had been informed of the Narkompros Collegium's resolution. One has the impression that the date of the incoming urgent correspondence from the OGPU, added at Narkompros, was inserted on the following day, after the receipt of the letter and the emergency meeting regarding it. Or the meeting may have been called on 25 September, after Alekseev's letter, but a different date added. On 27 September Lunacharskii notified Rykov, the Chairman of Sovnarkom SSSR and a member of the Politburo, that the play had been banned by the OGPU. On 30 September there followed a resolution from the Politburo allowing the play to be performed during the course of the year.

The play *The Turbins* was founded on the novel *The White Guard*. Bulgakov began work on the first version in the summer of 1925. The first announcement in *Krasnaia gazeta* that rehearsals had begun appeared in January 1926. The first night's performance was on 5 October. During the play's first week, salaried former and future Glavrepertkom critics (including V. Ashmarin of the OGPU) published critical reviews of the first night in the Moscow and Leningrad newspapers. However, the Politburo allowed performances until 1929 (Stalin is known to have had a favourable opinion of it), then it was relaunched in 1932 and ran until 1941. In all the play was performed 987 times between 1926 and 1941.

Glavrepertkom monitored the progress of rehearsals and alterations to the text of the play—especially its finale—and banned it twice. In its report, Glavrepertkom classed the play as a 'Russian-nationalist' work, one of those written by 'fellow-travelling' and 'Smenovekh'⁵⁵ dramatists. Orlinskii alleged of Bulgakov that 'all his commanders and officers live, fight, die and get married without a single batman, without servants, and without the slightest con-

⁵⁴ F.2306. Op.69. D.579. L.26.

⁵⁵ Smenovekh: Russian émigré political movement conditionally supporting the Soviet regime. [Transl.]

tact with people from any other classes or social strata'. In the *Berliner Tageblatt* of 12 October, its correspondent Pavel Shefer reported: 'The censorship has made major changes to the play's text. This has been confirmed by reliable rumours. A certain amount is known with complete confidence about the changes made by the censorship, so the rumours about the censorship are not mere rumours. In the original text, one of the Turbins says: "The Turbins never lie". This sentence was deleted. The author's intention was that the Tsarist anthem should be played believably and seriously, but in the censored scene that episode was changed into a display of uproar and alcohol'. However, the paper's correspondent affirmed that the OGPU had permitted the play, while opposition in the Party had come out against it. Even today, the question of the censors' influence on the text of the play remains an open one.

On 24 September 1926 an expanded session of the Moscow Party Committee's Agitprop Department took place, attended not only by members of the Moscow Committee but also by representatives of the Central Committee's Agitprop Department, leading personnel from Glavlit, Glavrepertkom and the OGPU, and figures from literature and the cinema. They heard a report from Orlinskii on the staging of Bulgakov's play. The resolution adopted read: 'Prohibit'.⁵⁶

No. 12

Resolution of a closed session of the Narkompros Collegium: 'Report by Glavrepertkom on its activities and draft resolution for the Orgburo of the VKP(b) Central Committee on that report' (Pel'she).

15 October 1926

Report No. 56. Item No. 1.

Present and voting: Comrades Lunacharskii, Pokrovskii, Khodorovskii, Meshcheriakov, Shmidt, Epshtein.

Present in an advisory capacity: Comrade Lebedev-Polianskii.

Resolved:

- (a) To take note of Comrade Pel'she's report.
- (b) To accept the draft resolution on the Glavrepertkom report for the CC Orgburo with the following amendments:

- (1) Delete the following sentence from the second paragraph of the introductory section of the draft: 'These directives include, for example, the Central Committee resolution "On Party policy in the field of literature", which has still not lost its importance, especially the first part of the resolution, which gives an analysis of the process of ideological development

⁵⁶ RGASPI. F.17. Op.60. D.808. L.97.

and stratification arising from our complex economy.’⁵⁷

- (2) Delete clause (z).⁵⁸ Replace it with the following: ‘Direct the editorial department of Sovkino to give an account of its activity to Glavrepertkom, and also to comply with all the latter’s instructions.’
- (3) Delete clauses (i), (l) and (n).⁵⁹
- (4) Delete clause (m),⁶⁰ replacing it with the following: ‘Glavrepertkom is an organ of Glavlit, with the status of a Glavlit department. Responsibility for the actions of Glavrepertkom lies with its Chairman.’
- (5) The third point of the draft should acknowledge that the censorship of film-scripts and completed films must be unified, and centralized under Glavrepertkom.⁶¹

In addition, to instruct Glavpolitprosvet to submit to the Narkompros Collegium, within a week, its views on the functions and work of the Artistic Council for the Cinema.⁶²

GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.601. L.40. Typescript.

Commentary

The draft resolution for the Orgburo on the Glavrepertkom report, adopted at

⁵⁷ This meant that the resolution was left only with references to Soviet (government) legislation on the censorship, and with a mention of the directives of the fourteenth Party Congress.

⁵⁸ This clause does not appear in the surviving preparatory draft of the resolution.

⁵⁹ The deleted clauses were as follows: ‘(i) to instruct the responsible staff in Glavrepertkom to engage themselves more organically with the proletarian public’; ‘(l) instructions to representatives of departments and organizations to appear at Glavrepertkom are to be regarded as compulsory’; ‘(n) to make it clear that, when prohibiting any work, for whatever reasons, Glavrepertkom must in no circumstances give instructions to the author regarding necessary amendments to the text: it must restrict itself to stating the reasons for the prohibition’. (GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.599. L.75).

⁶⁰ ‘(m) to note the harmful influences on the work of Glavrepertkom and the high turnover rate of its staff’. By deleting this clause, which had been proposed by the OGPU representative, the Narkompros Collegium emphasized the maintenance of Glavrepertkom’s status within the structure of Glavlit and Narkompros. Furthermore, the strengthened position of Glavlit (and Narkompros) in resisting the attempted separation of Glavrepertkom was shortly demonstrated when Glavrepertkom’s chairman was replaced and the principle of OGPU representation in its membership was dropped. In December 1926 (on the initiative of Mordvinkin, the new chairman of Glavrepertkom) Narkompros moved to get Sovnarkom RSFSR to amend the clause under which the leadership of Glavrepertkom was formed with representatives from the OGPU and the Military Revolutionary Council (RVSR). However, a resolution of the Central Committee Secretariat of 20th January 1928 set up and attached to Glavrepertkom a Council representing thirty different organizations.

⁶¹ The third point of the resolution stated that it was inappropriate for the control functions to be split between Glavrepertkom and the Artistic Council for the Cinema at Glapolitprosvet.

⁶² The second agenda item in the report raised the question of coordinating work on repertoires between the various organs of Narkompros. The fifth item dealt with the coordination of work between Glavrepertkom and the Artistic-Political Council of the State Academic Theatres Administration. It was decided to consider this at a later date.

this session, was sent to the Central Committee by Khodorovskii on 18 October 1926. On 23 November the Glavrepertkom report and the accompanying report from the CC Agitprop Department were heard at an Orgburo meeting. The resolution adopted there stated that: (1) the question of Glavrepertkom directives was to be postponed; (2) Glavrepertkom was not to be an interdepartmental organ but an organ of Narkompros, with its membership approved by the Central Committee; (3) Glavpolitprosvet's Artistic Council for the Cinema was superfluous (hence all cinema censorship was to be centralised at Glavrepertkom); and (4) Glavrepertkom was to have the authority to control not only the text of a work but also (in special cases) the stage design of a production.

See Document No. 7.

No. 13

Resolution of a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: 'Request by Pel'she to be relieved of his duties as Chairman of Glavrepertkom'.

25 November 1926

Report No. 62. Item No. 1.

Present: Comrades Pokrovskii, Iakovleva, Khodorovskii, Epshtein.

Chairman: Comrade Pokrovskii. Secretary: Comrade Egorova.

Resolved:

(1) To grant Comrade Pel'she's request to be relieved of his duties as Chairman of Glavrepertkom.

(2) To nominate Comrade Mordvinkin⁶³ as temporary acting Chairman of Glavrepertkom.

(3) To instruct Comrade Lebedev-Polianskii to obtain the agreement of the appropriate authorities on this matter, and also on the question of a permanent appointment.

GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.580. L.4. Typescript. The report number has been added in pencil. Also: D.602. L.5.

Commentary

The occasion for Pel'she's resignation (evidently caused by the extremely strained relationship between the chief of Glavlit and the head of Glavrepertkom) may have been his reprimand, at the closed session of the Narkompros Collegium on 15 October 1926, because his report on the activity of Glavrepertkom had been sent to the Orgburo before it had been con-

⁶³ See note 47.

sidered at the Collegium.⁶⁴ The report and draft resolution were sent to the Agitprop Department by the Glavrepertkom secretary Shchegol'kov and V. I. Blum.

No. 14

Resolution of a closed session of the Presidium of the Narkompros Collegium: 'On the staging by MKhAT I of Shakespeare's play *Othello*'.

21 December 1926

Report No. 69. Item No. 3.

Present: Comrades Lunacharskii, Khodorovskii, Iakovleva, Meshcheriakov, Mansurov, Shvarts.

Chairman: Comrade Lunacharskii. Secretary: Comrade Egorova.

Resolved:

(a) To express support for the possibility, under existing conditions, of giving permission for the staging by MKhAT I of Shakespeare's play *Othello*. At the same time to note the irregular action by the direction of MKhAT in proceeding with the production without receiving permission from Glavrepertkom.

(b) To warn the director of MKhAT I, and the directors of other theatres, that if in future they stage plays which have not been included in their plans and have not received permission from Glavrepertkom, the Narkompros Collegium will in no circumstances authorize the staging of such plays.

GARF F.2306. Op.69. D.581. L.59. Typescript copy. The report number has been added in pencil.

Commentary

After 1917, Shakespeare's *Othello* was put on by many theatres, for example the Bolshoi Dramatic Theatre in Petrograd (1920), the Maly Theatre (1922), the Sundukian Theatre (1923), the Estonia Theatre (1924), the Zankovetskaia Theatre (1926) and the Leningrad Pushkin Theatre (1927). The MKhAT production was not staged until 1930.

Mordvinkin reported on this item. On 21 December the Narkompros Collegium had received a letter from K. S. Stanislavskii, the director of MKhAT, requesting that 'consideration of the production of *Othello* at MKhAT be expedited, since the absence of special permission is delaying the start of set construction for this play. MKhAT would also like to request that, when the question of *Othello* is considered, a representative from the theatre be called to attend, who could explain to the Collegium the grounds and arguments in favour of staging this production at the theatre' (op. cit., L.65). On the same

⁶⁴ GARF. F.2306. Op.69. D.601. L.40.

day the Collegium received an explanatory memorandum from Mordvinkin as acting chairman of Glavrepertkom, in which he pointed out that the country's theatres had lost the right to prepare plays for production without the preliminary permission of Glavrepertkom. Besides, he added, MKhAT had repeatedly breached that requirement. At the same time Mordvinkin noted that both Glavrepertkom and the Artistic-Political Council had recommended against including this play in the theatre's repertoire, but that—in the situation which had arisen—Glavrepertkom considered it inadvisable to ban the production.⁶⁵

Translated from Russian by Gregory Walker and Christine Thomas

⁶⁵ Op. cit., L.64.

In the Mainstream: Russian Émigré Bibliography since 1917

Mark Kulikowski

Since 1991 we have witnessed two important trends in Russian émigré bibliography. The first is the continuation in the West of works devoted to the topic. The second is the now flourishing bibliographic work appearing in the Russian Federation. The convergence of these two trends has taken over a decade to complete. This convergence means that the study of the Russian émigré experience is now a mainstream element of Russian studies in general. Not only are bibliographies an indication of this, but so too are the numerous other publications, research projects and centres that have emerged in the Russian Federation. While much has been done, the bibliographic story of the Russian émigré community is far from finished. Given the torrent of new materials, it is time again to survey the state of the field.¹

Universal Bibliography

Since this survey began, it has become clear that true universal bibliography in the field is beginning to slow down quite dramatically. For an overview of work in recent years, see I. L. Belen'kii's 'Russkoe zarubezh'e: krupnym planom: "bol'shie" publikatsii, fundamental'nye issledovaniia i spravochnye izdaniia poslednikh let'.²

While slowing down, this field has not yet come to a stop. An ambitious project by I. L. Polotovskaia, *Materialy dlia bibliografii informatsionnykh resursov Russkogo zarubezh'ia*³ provides coverage of guides, dictionaries, indexes of persons, periodical and serial publications, encyclopedias and much more. Two unfortunate factors hamper the work's usefulness, although the fault does not lie with the author. The 2002 edition of this book was printed in an edition

¹ This article is fifth in a series. For earlier studies, see my 'A Neglected Source: the Bibliography of Russian Émigré Publications since 1917', *Solanus*, new series, 3 (1989), pp. 89-102; 'The Bibliography of Russian Émigré Publications since 1917: an Update', *Solanus*, new series, 9 (1995), pp. 15-23; 'Russian Émigré Bibliography: Another Look', *Solanus*, new series, 14 (2000), pp. 58-67; and 'The Tradition Continues: Russian Émigré Bibliography since 1917', *Solanus*, new series, 17 (2003), pp. 50-57. Given the continuing instability in Russian publishing, this article does not claim to be comprehensive.

² I. L. Belen'kii, 'Russkoe zarubezh'e: krupnym planom: "bol'shie" publikatsii, fundamental'nye issledovaniia i spravochnye izdaniia poslednikh let', in *Istoriia Rossiiskogo Zarubezh'ia: problemy istoriografii (konets XIX-XX v.): sbornik statei* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 4-29.

³ I. L. Polotovskaia, *Materialy dlia bibliografii informatsionnykh resursov Russkogo zarubezh'ia* (St Petersburg, 2002). For a review of the 2005 edition, see *Bibliografiia*, 2005, n. 6, p. 134-135.

of only 100 copies, making access a problem. The second edition, which appeared in 2005, was printed in only 200 copies, none of which, at the time of this writing, was in the holdings of any Western library.

A major, although more focused, work is A. G. Tatarkovskii's *Rossiia i rossiiskaia emigratsiia v vospominaniakh i dnevnikh: annotirovannyi ukazatel' knig, zhurnal'nykh i gazetnykh publikatsii, izdannykh za rubezhom v 1917–1991 gg.*⁴ Patterned on the work of the late P. A. Zaionchkovskii, *Istoriia dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii v dnevnikh i vospominaniakh: annotirovannyi ukazatel' knig, publikatsii v zhurnalakh*,⁵ this work provides annotated coverage of 8,658 items dealing with all aspects of Russian history and the émigré experience. With excellent organisation and indexes, it is a work of major and lasting importance.

A narrower, but nonetheless important, work in this area is G. A. Tolstykh's *Russkoe Zarubezh'e: 1917–1994: katalog izdaniia iz fondov Arkhiva Russkogo Zarubezh'ia*.⁶ Dealing with books and journals, it lists some 793 items arranged alphabetically by author. Name, title and subject indexes are included. This work is a continuation of the author's *Russkoe Zarubezh'e 1917–1991*, which appeared in 1992.⁷

Other important works include Iu. Abyzov's *A izdavalos' eto v Rige 1918–1944: istoriko-bibliograficheskii ocherk*,⁸ and N. A. Solov'eva's *Pechatnye izdaniia Kharbinskoi Rossiki*.⁹ Lastly, a potentially important work is A. A. Pronin's *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia raznykh voln i regionov rasseianiia v avtoreferatakh dissertatsii, izdannykh v RSFSR-Rossii v 1980–2003 gg.*¹⁰ This unseen work has been recently published in an edition of 120 copies, and is not held by any Western library.

⁴ A. G. Tatarkovskii, T. Emmons and O. Budnitskii (eds), *Rossiia i rossiiskaia emigratsiia v vospominaniakh i dnevnikh: annotirovannyi ukazatel' knig, zhurnal'nykh i gazetnykh publikatsii, izdannykh za rubezhom v 1917–1991 gg.* (Moscow, 2003–).

⁵ P. A. Zaionchkovskii (ed.), *Istoriia dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii v dnevnikh i vospominaniakh: annotirovannyi ukazatel' knig, publikatsii v zhurnalakh* (Moscow, 1976–1989).

⁶ G. A. Tolstykh (comp.), *Russkoe Zarubezh'e: 1917–1994: katalog izdaniia iz fondov Arkhiva Russkogo Zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, 2002).

⁷ G. A. Tolstykh (comp.), *Russkoe Zarubezh'e 1917–1991: katalog izdaniia iz fondov biblioteki-arkhiva* (Moscow, 1992).

⁸ Iu. Abyzov, *A izdavalos' eto v Rige 1918–1944: istoriko-bibliograficheskii ocherk* (Moscow, 2006).

⁹ N. A. Solov'eva, *Pechatnye izdaniia Kharbinskoi Rossiki: annotirovannyi bibliograficheskii ukazatel' pechatnykh izdaniia, vyvezennykh Khabarovskimi arkhivistami iz Kharbina v 1945 godu* (Khabarovsk, 2003).

¹⁰ A. A. Pronin, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia raznykh voln i regionov rasseianiia v avtoreferatakh dissertatsii, izdannykh v RSFSR-Rossii v 1980–2003 gg.: (na osnove gosudarstvennykh bibliograficheskikh ukazatelei, Knizhnaia letopis', dopolnitel'nyi vypusk, Avtoreferaty dissertatsii, 1981–1992, Letopis' avtoreferatov dissertatsii, 1993–2003): bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (Ekaterinburg, 2006). For a review, see *Bibliografiia*, 2006, no. 6, pp. 100–101.

Bibliography of Books

Works in this area continue to be published, although it is clear that, at least for now, this topic is of limited interest to bibliographers. However, a number of books require our attention. The first is Iu. Abyzov's *Russkaia kniga Latvii 1990–2001: materialy k ukazateliu*,¹¹ which lists alphabetically 1,383 items. Although lacking an index, it is among the few books to deal with a new area of émigré bibliography: works concerned with Russian publications in the former republics of the USSR. Another volume is A. I. Bukreev's *Kniga 'vostochnoi vetvi' russkoi emigratsii*,¹² which deals with the publications and other activities of the Russian community in China. The final work is another by Bukreev, 'Knigi Russkoi emigratsii v bibliotekakh Dal'nego Vostoka Rossii'.¹³

Encyclopedias and Dictionaries

A number of interesting books have been published recently. The first is A. N. Nikoliukin's *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia Russkogo Zarubezh'ia 1918–1940*.¹⁴ Published in four volumes, it deals with biographical data, periodicals and publishing, books, and foreign reaction to émigré authors. Given its wide scope and attention to detail, it will undoubtedly be of major value to scholars. Also valuable is Iu. F. Sukharev's *Materialy k istorii russkogo nauchnogo zarubezh'ia*.¹⁵ This two-volume work defines science broadly to include technology, medicine and engineering. Arranged alphabetically with archival holdings listed, it deals with a topic often overlooked by those interested in the field.

Periodicals

Of lasting interest to researchers, the bibliography of émigré periodicals continues, albeit at a reduced tempo. T. L. Gladkova and T. A. Osorgina's *Russkaia emigratsiia: zhurnaly i sborniki na russkom iazyke 1981–1995*¹⁶ is a continuation of their earlier 1988 work. Unfortunately, this volume suffers from some of the same methodological problems as its predecessor—unnumbered entries, inadequate indexes and questionable journal selection. These problems severely limit the usefulness of this volume. B. Horbal and

¹¹ Iu. Abyzov et al., *Russkaia kniga Latvii 1990–2001: materialy k ukazateliu* (Riga, 2003).

¹² A. I. Bukreev, *Kniga 'vostochnoi vetvi' russkoi emigratsii: vtoraiia polovina XX veka* (Khabarovsk, 2003).

¹³ A. I. Bukreev, 'Knigi Russkoi emigratsii v bibliotekakh Dal'nego Vostoka Rossii', *Natsional'naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul'turnom protsesse*, vyp. 1 (Moscow, 2002), pp. 169–179.

¹⁴ A. N. Nikoliukin, *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia Russkogo Zarubezh'ia 1918–1940* (Moscow, 1997–2006).

¹⁵ Iu. F. Sukharev, *Materialy k istorii russkogo nauchnogo zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, 2002). 2 vols.

¹⁶ T. L. Gladkova and T. A. Osorgina (eds), *Russkaia emigratsiia: zhurnaly i sborniki na russkom iazyke 1981–1995* (Moscow, 2005).

L. Chaban's *Russian émigré serials (1917–1937) in the Slavic and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library*¹⁷ is a useful in-house publication. Other works include: S. G. Kh. Siui's 'Spravka o periodicheskikh izdaniiax russkoi dal'nevostochnoi emigratsii v Kitae 1920-kh–1940-kh godov',¹⁸ V. V. Lobytsyn's *Bizertinskii Morskoi Sbornik 1921–1923: izbrannye stranitsy*,¹⁹ A. N. Nikoliukin's *Russkii N'iu-Iork: Antologiiia 'Novogo Zhurnala'*,²⁰ and L. G. Cheboksarova and M. K. Abel'dinova's *Zhurnal Zhar-Ptitsa v kolleksii redkoi knigi Omskogo Oblastnogo Muzeia Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv imeni M. A. Vrubelia: katalog*.²¹

Newspapers have been dealt with as well. B. Horbal and L. Chaban's *Russian periodicals, newspapers, and almanacs 1703–1939 in the New York Public Library: Russian émigré newspapers*²² is a handy guide. Two important newspaper indexes have also appeared: Iu. Abyzov's *Gazeta 'Segodnia': rospis'*,²³ and his *Gazeta 'Slovo' 1925–1929: rospis'*.²⁴

Not all the news in the periodical area is positive. 2003 saw the serial *Zarubezhnaia periodicheskaiia pechat' na russkom iazyke: referativnyi zhurnal* cease publication. Published since 1981,²⁵ it played an important role in indexing tens of thousands of current émigré periodical articles. Its termination means that a new gap has emerged in journal coverage.

Publishing Houses, the Book Trade and Book Studies

The cultural heart of many Russian communities resided in their publishing houses. More than just businesses, they often acted as a crossroads for the community. Among the most significant works on this topic in recent years is P. N. Bazanov's *Izdatel'stva i izdatel'skie organizatsii russkoi emigratsii 1917–2003 gg.: entsiklopedicheskii spravocchnik*.²⁶ This detailed volume provides ex-

¹⁷ B. Horbal and L. Chaban, *Russian émigré serials (1917–1937) in the Slavic and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library* (New York, 2002).

¹⁸ S. G. Kh. Siui, 'Spravka o periodicheskikh izdaniiax russkoi dal'nevostochnoi emigratsii v Kitae 1920-kh–1940-kh godov', in her *Literaturnaia zhizn' russkoi emigratsii v Kitae (1920–1940-e g.)* (Moscow, 2003), pp. 139–158.

¹⁹ V. V. Lobytsyn (comp.), *Bizertinskii Morskoi Sbornik 1921–1923: izbrannye stranitsy* (Moscow, 2003).

²⁰ A. N. Nikoliukin (comp.) *Russkii N'iu-Iork: Antologiiia 'Novogo Zhurnala'* (Moscow, 2002).

²¹ L. G. Cheboksarova and M. K. Abel'dinova (comps), *Zhurnal Zhar-Ptitsa v kolleksii redkoi knigi Omskogo Oblastnogo Muzeia Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv imeni M. A. Vrubelia: katalog* (Omsk, 2005).

²² B. Horbal and L. Chaban, *Russian periodicals, newspapers, and almanacs 1703–1939 in the New York Public Library: Russian émigré newspapers* (New York, 2004).

²³ Iu. Abyzov (comp.), *Gazeta 'Segodnia': rospis'* (Riga, 2001–).

²⁴ Iu. Abyzov (comp.), *Gazeta 'Slovo' 1925–1929: rospis'* (Riga, 2003).

²⁵ *Zarubezhnaia periodicheskaiia pechat' na russkom iazyke: referativnyi zhurnal* (Berkeley, 1992–2003). Began in 1981 as *Abstracts of Soviet and East European Émigré Periodical Literature*.

²⁶ P. N. Bazanov et al., *Izdatel'stva i izdatel'skie organizatsii russkoi emigratsii 1917–2003 gg.: entsiklopedicheskii spravocchnik* (St Petersburg, 2005).

tensive histories of numerous Russian publishing houses. With footnotes and archival references, it is a major resource.

Other works include: P. N. Bazanov's 'Istoriografiia knizhnogo dela russkoi emigratsii',²⁷ O. A. Korostelev's 'Pechatnoe delo russkogo zarubezh'ia v issledovaniiax i dokumentakh',²⁸ E. V. Ivanova's 'Deiatel'nost' izdatel'stva 'YMCA-Press' v Berline',²⁹ T. V. Kuznetsova's 'Rasprostranenie russkoi knigi v severo-vostochnom Kitae',³⁰ her 'Iz istorii russkogo knizhnogo dela v Kitae (pervaia polovina XX vv.)',³¹ her 'Izdanie russkoi knigi v severo-vostochnom Kitae v 1917–1931 gg.',³² A. I. Bukreev's 'Sud'ba russkikh knizhnykh sobranii dal'nevostochnogo zarubezh'ia',³³ N. A. Vasilenko's 'Ob istorii russkoi pechati v Kharbine',³⁴ and P. N. Bazanov's 'Knizhnoe delo russkoi emigratsii "Dipiiskogo perioda" (1945–1951 gg.)'.³⁵ Lastly, for a study of the creation of the major work *Materialy dlia bibliografii russkikh nauchnykh trudov za rubezhom* (Belgrade, 1931–41), see A. P. Ivkina's 'Russkoe nauchnoe zarubezh'e: biobibliograficheskii aspekt'.³⁶

Institutions

Institutions of all types, both old and new, contain material relevant to Russian émigré bibliography. For an overview of institutional connections with this topic, see I. L. Polotovskaia's 'Tsentry bibliografirovaniia izdaniia russkogo zarubezh'ia'.³⁷ Specific studies include: N. G. Kirillova and A. S. Kruchinin's

²⁷ P. N. Bazanov, 'Istoriografiia knizhnogo dela russkoi emigratsii', in *Istoriia Rossiiskogo Zarubezh'ia: problemy istoriografii (konets XIX–XX v.): sbornik statei* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 107–117.

²⁸ O. A. Korostelev, 'Pechatnoe delo russkogo zarubezh'ia v issledovaniiax i dokumentakh: materialy k bibliografii', *Diaspora: novye materialy*, 5 (2003), pp. 661–715.

²⁹ E. V. Ivanova, 'Deiatel'nost' izdatel'stva 'YMCA-Press' v Berline', in L. S. Fleishman (ed.), *Russkii Berlin 1920–1945* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 135–137, Biblioteka-Fond 'Russkoe Zarubezh'e: materialy i issledovaniia', vyp. 6.

³⁰ T. V. Kuznetsova, 'Rasprostranenie russkoi knigi v severo-vostochnom Kitae', *Natsional'naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul'turnom protsesse* (Moscow, 2002), vyp. 1, pp. 245–252.

³¹ T. V. Kuznetsova, 'Iz istorii russkogo knizhnogo dela v Kitae (pervaia polovina XX vv.)', in *Rossii i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* (Blagoveshchensk, 2001), vyp. 2, pp. 205–210.

³² T. V. Kuznetsova, 'Izdanie russkoi knigi v severo-vostochnom Kitae v 1917–1931 gg.', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 81 (2003), pp. 195–215.

³³ A. I. Bukreev, 'Sud'ba russkikh knizhnykh sobranii dal'nevostochnogo zarubezh'ia', in *Rossii i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* (Blagoveshchensk, 2001), vyp. 2, pp. 201–205.

³⁴ N. A. Vasilenko, 'Ob istorii russkoi pechati v Kharbine (po materialam kitaiskikh publikatsii)', in *Rossii i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* (Blagoveshchensk, 2002), vyp. 3, pp. 451–457.

³⁵ P. N. Bazanov, 'Knizhnoe delo russkoi emigratsii "Dipiiskogo perioda" (1945–1951 gg.)', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 80 (2002), pp. 364–374.

³⁶ A. P. Ivkina, 'Russkoe nauchnoe zarubezh'e: biobibliograficheskii aspekt', *Bibliografiia*, 1996, no. 4, pp. 129–134.

³⁷ I. L. Polotovskaia, 'Tsentry bibliografirovaniia izdaniia russkogo zarubezh'ia', *Bibliografiia*, 1997, no. 4, pp. 139–153.

Russkie emigrantskie biblioteki v Iugoslavii,³⁸ A. P. Ivkina's 'Kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia: istoriko-bibliograficheskie issledovaniia MGUK',³⁹ P. Polansky's 'Pacific Rim Russian librarianship: forgotten collectors for the Hoover Institution on Manchuria',⁴⁰ E. Rogatchevskaia's 'The Collection of Russian émigré literature (1853–1917) in the British Library',⁴¹ and N. V. Ryzhak's 'Kolleksitsiia parizhskoi Russkoi Obshchestvennoi Biblioteki im. I. S. Turgeneva v fondakh RGB'.⁴²

Archives

A topic that has seen substantial growth in the last several years has been Russian émigré archives. Without a doubt, the single most impressive work to appear recently has been S. V. Mironenko's *Putevoditel'*, tom 4: *Fondy Gosudarstvennogo Arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii po istorii Belogo dvizheniia i emigratsii*.⁴³ The section devoted to Russian emigration is arranged alphabetically by country, with further topical subdivisions. The collections are extensively described in the text, along with a history of the collection itself. Name, place and fond number indexes make this work easy to use.

Newly discovered or acquired archival documents are the focus of articles by L. I. Petrusheva, 'Arkhivnaia Rossika v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii (novye postupleniia)',⁴⁴ 'O novykh postupleniiakh arkhivnoi Rossiki v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii',⁴⁵ 'Arkhivnaia Rossika v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii (novye postupleniia 1999–2000 gg.)',⁴⁶ and I. V. Sabennikova, 'Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: novye

³⁸ N. G. Kirillova and A. S. Kruchinin (comps), *Russkie emigrantskie biblioteki v Iugoslavii: izdaniia v sobranii otdela fondov Russkogo Zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, GPIB, 2003).

³⁹ A. P. Ivkina, 'Kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia: istoriko-bibliograficheskie issledovaniia MGUK', *Bibliografiia*, 1996, no. 2, pp. 128–137.

⁴⁰ P. Polansky, 'Pacific Rim Russian librarianship: forgotten collectors for the Hoover Institution on Manchuria', *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, 7 (2006), no. 4, pp. 49–114.

⁴¹ E. Rogatchevskaia, 'The Collection of Russian émigré literature (1853–1917) in the British Library', *Solanus*, new series, 20 (2006), pp. 55–71. See also her 'Emigrantskie izdaniia v fondakh Britanskoi Biblioteki', *Bibliografiia*, 2006, no. 1, pp. 151–158.

⁴² N. V. Ryzhak, 'Kolleksitsiia parizhskoi Russkoi Obshchestvennoi Biblioteki im. I. S. Turgeneva v fondakh RGB', *Natsional'naia biblioteka v sovremennom sotsiokul'turnom protsesse* (Moscow, 2002), vyp. 1, pp. 296–301.

⁴³ S. V. Mironenko (ed.), *Putevoditel'*, tom 4: *Fondy Gosudarstvennogo Arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii po istorii Belogo dvizheniia i emigratsii* (Moscow, 2004).

⁴⁴ L. I. Petrusheva, 'Arkhivnaia Rossika v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii (novye postupleniia)', in Iu. A. Poliakova and G. Ia. Tarle (eds), *Natsional'nye diaspory v Rossii i za rubezhom v XIX–XX vv.: sbornik statei* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 297–307.

⁴⁵ L. I. Petrusheva, 'O novykh postupleniiakh arkhivnoi Rossiki v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii', *Vestnik Arkhivista*, 2003, no. 1, pp. 219–230.

⁴⁶ L. I. Petrusheva, 'Arkhivnaia Rossika v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii (novye postupleniia 1999–2000 gg.)', *Istoriia Rossiiskogo Zarubezh'ia: problemy istoriografii (konets XIX–XX v.): sbornik statei* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 247–251.

postupleniia'.⁴⁷ Sabennikova also includes a bibliography of archival literature in her 'Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: prodolzhenie bibliografii'.⁴⁸

Narrower archival topics are covered in: L. I. Petrusheva's 'Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Velikobritanii v dokumentakh Arkhiva Rossiiskogo Federatsii (GARF)',⁴⁹ P. N. Bazanov's 'Dokumenty i materialy o russkoi emigratsii v Arkhive-Biblioteke Sankt-Peterburgskogo NTS "Memorial"',⁵⁰ V. A. Moskvina's 'Biblioteka-Fond "Russkoe Zarubezh'e"',⁵¹ N. N. Bendik's 'Kharbinskaia Rossika v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Khabarovskogo Kraia',⁵² T. Kioseva's 'Dokumenty o beloi emigratsii v bolgarskikh arkhivakh',⁵³ I. V. Troshkina's 'Dokumenty GARF o deiatel'nosti russkikh emigrantskikh obshchestvennykh organizatsii v Pol'she (1920–1930-e gg.)',⁵⁴ N. Saul's 'American collections on immigrants and émigrés from the Russian Empire',⁵⁵ E. Danielson's 'Arkhiy russkikh emigrantov v Guverovskom Institute',⁵⁶ V. A. von Tsurikov's 'Hidden Slavica: collections of Slavic religious, ethnic and cultural materials at Holy Trinity seminary and monastery',⁵⁷ A. Popov's 'Personal papers of Russian émigrés in the United States in the State Archive of the Russian Federation',⁵⁸ and R. Whittaker's 'The Tolstoy Foundation: library and archives'.⁵⁹

⁴⁷ I. V. Sabennikova, 'Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: novye postupleniia', *Vestnik Arkhivista*, 2000, no. 1, pp. 143–152.

⁴⁸ I. V. Sabennikova, 'Zarubezhnaia arkhivnaia Rossika: prodolzhenie bibliografii', *Vestnik Arkhivista*, 2001, no. 4–5, pp. 218–240.

⁴⁹ L. I. Petrusheva, 'Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Velikobritanii v dokumentakh Arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF)', *Kul'turnoe i nauchnoe nasledie Rossiiskoi emigratsii v Velikobritanii (1917–1940 gg.)* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 28–35, Biblioteka-Fond 'Russkoe Zarubezh'e', vyp. 3.

⁵⁰ P. N. Bazanov, 'Dokumenty i materialy o russkoi emigratsii v Arkhive-Biblioteke Sankt-Peterburgskogo NTS "Memorial"', *Otechestvennye Arkhiy*, 2005, no. 6, pp. 77–83.

⁵¹ V. A. Moskvina, 'Biblioteka-Fond "Russkoe Zarubezh'e"', *Vestnik Arkhivista*, 2001, no. 6, pp. 244–250.

⁵² N. N. Bendik, 'Kharbinskaia Rossika v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Khabarovskogo Kraia', *Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* (Blagoveshchensk, 2003), vyp. 5, pp. 275–280.

⁵³ T. Kioseva, 'Dokumenty o beloi emigratsii v bolgarskikh arkhivakh', *Vestnik Arkhivista*, 2004, no. 3–4, pp. 240–265, no. 5, pp. 289–302.

⁵⁴ I. V. Troshkina, 'Dokumenty GARF o deiatel'nosti russkikh emigrantskikh obshchestvennykh organizatsii v Pol'she (1920–1930-e gg.)', *Otechestvennye Arkhiy*, 2006, no. 5, pp. 56–66.

⁵⁵ N. Saul, 'American collections on immigrants and émigrés from the Russian Empire', *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, 4 (2003), no. 4, pp. 49–61.

⁵⁶ E. Danielson, 'Arkhiy russkikh emigrantov v Guverovskom Institute', *Vestnik Arkhivista*, 2001, no. 1, pp. 202–211.

⁵⁷ V. A. von Tsurikov, 'Hidden Slavica: collections of Slavic religious, ethnic and cultural materials at Holy Trinity seminary and monastery', *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, 7 (2006), no. 2–3, pp. 29–48.

⁵⁸ A. Popov, 'Personal papers of Russian émigrés in the United States in the State Archive of the Russian Federation', *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, 7 (2006), no. 2–3, pp. 153–164.

⁵⁹ R. Whittaker, 'The Tolstoy Foundation: library and archives', *Slavic and East European Information Resources*, 7 (2006), no. 2–3, pp. 49–70.

Literature and Literary Studies

Émigré literature and literary studies continue to be popular. Recent examples of this are O. A. Korostelev and N. G. Mel'nikov's *Kritika Russkogo Zarubezh'ia*,⁶⁰ V. V. Vasil'eva's *Sholokhov i Russkoe Zarubezh'e*,⁶¹ and N. N. Primochkina's *Gor'kii i pisateli Russkogo Zarubezh'ia*.⁶² Bibliographic works include A. A. Khisamutdinov's 'Detskaia emigrantskaia literatura v Kitae',⁶³ and the significant guide, M. E. Iuopp's *Rospis' knig poezii Russkogo Zarubezh'ia XX veka (1917–2000)*.⁶⁴ Individuals have also enjoyed bibliographic attention: Z. B. Mikhailova's *Iurii Druzhnikov: tvorchestvo, biografiia, sud'ba: biobibliograficheskii ukazatel'*,⁶⁵ I. Belobrovtseva and A. Rogachevskii's 'Estonskie gody N. E. Andreeva: materialy k bibliografii',⁶⁶ M. Kuchinskaia's 'Vadim Gardner: materialy k bibliografii',⁶⁷ and E. Karkkonen's 'Ivan Savin: materialy k bibliografii'.⁶⁸

Religious Publications and Necrologies

Obviously an important factor, Russian Orthodoxy abroad has not attracted the bibliographic attention it deserves. In recent years, this lacuna in Russian émigré bibliography is beginning to be addressed. A. V. Popov is clearly at the forefront of this movement. His well-organised article 'Bibliograficheskii ukazatel': Rossiiskoe Pravoslavnoe Zarubezh'e'⁶⁹ provides coverage of 3,240 items arranged by subject. While obviously not comprehensive, the article is still a major contribution. His 'Arkhivnoe nasledie Rossiiskogo

⁶⁰ O. A. Korostelev and N. G. Mel'nikov (comps), *Kritika Russkogo Zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, 2002). 2 vols.

⁶¹ V. V. Vasil'eva (comp.), *Sholokhov i Russkoe Zarubezh'e* (Moscow, 2003).

⁶² N. N. Primochkina, *Gor'kii i pisateli Russkogo Zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, 2003).

⁶³ A. A. Khisamutdinov, 'Detskaia emigrantskaia literatura v Kitae', *Bibliografiia*, 1999, no. 3, pp. 145–150.

⁶⁴ M. E. Iuopp, *Rospis' knig poezii Russkogo Zarubezh'ia XX veka (1917–2000)* (Philadelphia, 2004). For a review, see *Bibliografiia*, 2004, no. 2, pp. 136–138.

⁶⁵ Z. B. Mikhailova, *Iurii Druzhnikov: tvorchestvo, biografiia, sud'ba: biobibliograficheskii ukazatel': Druzhnikov v interpretatsii literaturnoi kritiki* (Ul'ianovsk, 2005). For a review, see *Bibliografiia*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 131–133.

⁶⁶ I. Belobrovtseva and A. Rogachevskii, 'Estonskie gody N. E. Andreeva: materialy k bibliografii', *Diaspora: novye materialy*, 3 (2002), pp. 687–702.

⁶⁷ M. Kuchinskaia, 'Vadim Gardner: materialy k bibliografii', *Diaspora: novye materialy*, 4 (2002), pp. 657–670.

⁶⁸ E. Karkkonen, 'Ivan Savin: materialy k bibliografii', *Diaspora: novye materialy*, 7 (2005), pp. 683–718.

⁶⁹ A. V. Popov, 'Bibliograficheskii ukazatel': Rossiiskoe Pravoslavnoe Zarubezh'e: sistematičeskaiia bibliografiia knig, broshur i statei, vyshedshikh na russkom i inostrannykh iazykakh v Rossii i za rubezhom v 1918–2004 gg.', in his *Rossiiskoe Pravoslavnoe Zarubezh'e. Istoriia i istochniki, s prilozheniem sistematičeskoi bibliografii* (Moscow, 2005), pp. 336–590, Materialy k istorii russkoi politicheskoi emigratsii, vyp. 10.

Pravoslavnogo Zarubezh'ia'⁷⁰ and 'Zarubezhnaia tserkovnaia periodika v bibliotekakh Moskvyy'⁷¹ are likewise valuable tools. V. Cherkasov-Georgievskii's *Russkii khram na chuzhbine*⁷² covers histories of selected churches worldwide, while A. A. Aleksandrova's *E. Iu. Kuz'mina-Karavaeva (Mat' Mariia): bibliograficheskii ukazatel' proizvedenii i kriticheskoi literatury*⁷³ deals with an important religious figure. Finally, a specialised article of interest is S. A. Shubina's '“Kitaiskii Blagovestnik” kak istochnik po istorii Rossiiskoi dukhovnoi missii v Kitae (obzor publikatsii za 1904–1918 gg.)'.⁷⁴

Two significant necrologies are the continuation of V. N. Chuvakov's excellent *Nezabytye mogily: Russkoe Zarubezh'e: nekrologi 1917–2000*⁷⁵ and A. A. Romanov's *Na chuzhikh pogostakh: nekropol' Russkogo Zarubezh'ia*.⁷⁶

Specialised Bibliographies

While often quite diverse in nature, specialised bibliographies provide data on important but little-known topics both old and new. A unique work is Iu. Abyzov's '20 let russkoi pechati v nezavisimoi Latvii',⁷⁷ which covers the years 1920–1940. Arranged by year, it offers a wealth of information. Another valuable work is N. V. Bekzhanova's *Russkaia emigratsiia v Velikobritanii mezhdu dvumia voynami*.⁷⁸ It includes coverage of publications, but its strength lies in its 'Personalia' section, which makes up the majority of the book. Arranged alphabetically, it covers publications by and about prominent Russians living in Great Britain. The same arrangement can be seen in another of Bekzhanova's books, '*A prishlos' v razluke goda . . .*': *Rossiiskoe Zarubezh'e v Finliandii mezhdu dvumia voynami*.⁷⁹

For a work dealing with a new topic, see A. V. Popov's 'Internet dlia

⁷⁰ A. V. Popov, 'Arkhipnoe nasledie Rossiiskogo Pravoslavnogo Zarubezh'ia', in his *Rossiiskoe Pravoslavnoe Zarubezh'e. Istoriia i istochniki, s prilozheniem sistematicheskoi bibliografii* (Moscow, 2005), pp. 111–136, *Materialy k istorii russkoi politicheskoi emigratsii*, vyp. 10.

⁷¹ A. V. Popov, 'Zarubezhnaia tserkovnaia periodika v bibliotekakh Moskvyy', *Bibliografiia*, 2004, no. 4, pp. 81–89.

⁷² V. Cherkasov-Georgievskii, *Russkii khram na chuzhbine* (Moscow, 2003).

⁷³ A. A. Aleksandrova (comp.), *E. Iu. Kuz'mina-Karavaeva (Mat' Mariia): bibliograficheskii ukazatel' proizvedenii i kriticheskoi literatury* (St Petersburg, 2002).

⁷⁴ S. A. Shubina, '“Kitaiskii Blagovestnik” kak istochnik po istorii Rossiiskoi dukhovnoi missii v Kitae (obzor publikatsii za 1904–1918 gg.)', *Rossiia i Kitai na dal'nevostochnykh rubezhakh* (Blagoveshchensk, 2002), vyp. 3, pp. 603–619.

⁷⁵ V. N. Chuvakov, *Nezabytye mogily: Russkoe Zarubezh'e: nekrologi 1917–2000* (Moscow, 1999–2006).

⁷⁶ A. A. Romanov, *Na chuzhikh pogostakh: nekropol' Russkogo Zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, 2003).

⁷⁷ Iu. Abyzov, '20 let russkoi pechati v nezavisimoi Latvii', *Russkie v Latvii* (Riga, 2002), vyp. 2, pp. 3–33.

⁷⁸ N. V. Bekzhanova et al. (comps), *Russkaia emigratsiia v Velikobritanii mezhdu dvumia voynami: nauka i kul'tura: bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (St Petersburg, 2000).

⁷⁹ N. V. Bekzhanova et al. (comps), '*A prishlos' v razluke goda . . .*': *Rossiiskoe Zarubezh'e v Finliandii mezhdu dvumia voynami: materialy k biobibliografii, 1987–2002 gg.* (St Petersburg, 2003).

issledovatelei Russkogo Zarubezh'ia',⁸⁰ which offers websites pertinent to the topic. Although somewhat dated, it does indicate that future researchers cannot depend on printed sources alone.

Works of Related Interest

Materials in this category deal with a wide spectrum of topics—documents, pre-revolutionary studies, organisational studies, the White Movement, the Soviet Union and the émigré community, and many others. An important documentary publication is M. A. Kotenko and I. V. Dominin's *Rossiiskii Zarubezhnyi S"ezd 1926 Parizh: dokumenty i materialy*.⁸¹ Historical works include I. V. Vishniakova's *Istoriia russkoi knigi v SShA (konets XVIII veka—1917 g.)*⁸² and Ia. V. Leont'ev's 'My dyshali svobodoi ...': istoriki Russkogo Zarubezh'ia o dekabristakh.⁸³ An impressive volume devoted to some émigré organisations is A. V. Okorokov's *Russkaia Emigratsiia: politicheskie, voenno-politicheskie i voinskie organizatsii 1920–1990 gg.*⁸⁴ Military studies include V. V. Klaving's 'Kto byl kto v Beloi Gvardii' in his *Belaia Gvardiia*,⁸⁵ the biographical work by E. V. Volkov, *Belye generaly vostochnogo fronta grazhdanskoi voiny*,⁸⁶ and the biographical book by N. P. Rozhdestvenskaia, *Morskie sud'by za granitse: ofitsery Rossiiskogo flota v emigratsii*.⁸⁷ Further biographical studies include E. L. Nitoburg's *Russkie v SShA: istoriia i sud'by 1870–1970*⁸⁸ and N. N. Bolkhovitinov's *Russkie uchenye-emigranty (G. V. Vernadskii, M. M. Karpovich, M. T. Florinskii) i stanovlenie rusistiki v SShA*.⁸⁹

Links between the Soviet Union and the émigré community are found in L. Fleishman's *V tiskakh provokatsii: operatsiia 'Trest' i Russkaia Zarubezhnaia*

⁸⁰ A. V. Popov, 'Internet dlia issledovatelei Russkogo Zarubezh'ia', *Vestnik Arkhivista*, 2001, no. 4–5, pp. 206–218.

⁸¹ M. A. Kotenko and I. V. Dominin (comps), *Rossiiskii Zarubezhnyi S"ezd 1926 Parizh: dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow, 2006), Issledovaniia noveishei russkoi istorii, vyp. 6.

⁸² I. V. Vishniakova, *Istoriia russkoi knigi v SShA (konets XVIII veka—1917 g.)* (Novosibirsk, 2004). For a review, see *Bibliografiia*, 2006, no. 6, pp. 98–101.

⁸³ Ia. V. Leont'ev, 'My dyshali svobodoi ...': istoriki Russkogo Zarubezh'ia o dekabristakh (Moscow, 2001).

⁸⁴ A. V. Okorokov, *Russkaia Emigratsiia: politicheskie, voenno-politicheskie i voinskie organizatsii 1920–1990 gg.* (Moscow, 2003).

⁸⁵ V. V. Klaving, *Belaia Gvardiia* (St Petersburg, 1999).

⁸⁶ E. V. Volkov, N. D. Egorov and I. V. Kuptsov, *Belye generaly vostochnogo fronta grazhdanskoi voiny* (Moscow, 2003).

⁸⁷ N. P. Rozhdestvenskaia, *Morskie sud'by za granitse: ofitsery Rossiiskogo flota v emigratsii* (St Petersburg, 2003).

⁸⁸ E. L. Nitoburg, *Russkie v SShA: istoriia i sud'by 1870–1970: etnoistoricheskii ocherk* (Moscow, 2005).

⁸⁹ N. N. Bolkhovitinov, *Russkie uchenye-emigranty (G. V. Vernadskii, M. M. Karpovich, M. T. Florinskii) i stanovlenie rusistiki v SShA* (Moscow, 2005).

pechat',⁹⁰ and A. V. Popov's 'Tema sovetskogo GULaga v osveshchenii emigrantskikh avtorov'.⁹¹ Collectors of émigré publications are covered in *Kollektsiia 'Russkogo Kharbintsa': katalog sobraniia V. A. Slobodchikova*,⁹² N. Zilper's 'Andrei Savin—kollektzioner materialov Russkogo Zarubezh'ia',⁹³ and R. S. Van Duinen's 'New discoveries in the André Savine Collection: examining the author-generated metadata contained in the bibliographic and biographical records of André Savine'.⁹⁴

As this survey has indicated, the bibliography of Russian émigré publications has indeed become an integral part of the study of Russian history and culture. It is also clear that topics within this subject have not remained static. Some areas have declined in coverage, while other areas, such as archives and religion, have increased dramatically. Simply put, the bibliographic work on the Russian émigré community is far from finished. Some categories—among them indexing journal articles since 2003, encyclopedic works on émigrés in the arts, bibliographic work on Russian publications appearing in former Soviet republics, and internet resources for studying Russian emigration—are still to be covered. With the recent publishing of books on Russians in Africa,⁹⁵ Cuba,⁹⁶ Latin America,⁹⁷ the Pacific Rim,⁹⁸ the Philippines,⁹⁹ and Georgia,¹⁰⁰ comes the inevitable need for bibliographical coverage. Whether focusing on the past or the present, we are responsible for continuing the work on this topic, which for so long was neglected, ignored or unrecognised.

⁹⁰ L. Fleishman, *V tiskakh provokatsii: operatsiia 'Trest' i Russkaia Zarubezhnaia pechat'* (Moscow, 2003) (series: *Iz istorii zhurnalistiki Russkogo Zarubezh'ia*, t. 1).

⁹¹ A. V. Popov, 'Tema sovetskogo GULaga v osveshchenii emigrantskikh avtorov', *Bibliografiia*, 2007, no. 2, pp. 84–88.

⁹² *Kollektsiia 'Russkogo Kharbintsa': katalog sobraniia V. A. Slobodchikova* (Moscow, 2006).

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Memories of L. M. Ravich

Marianna Tax Choldin

I first met Liubov' Moiseevna Ravich in another lifetime, on another planet, or so it seems to me now. It was August 1978, in Leningrad. The Soviet Union was alive and well, the Cold War chilly despite the pleasant summer sunshine. This was my first visit to the old capital and only my second visit to the country; my first trip had been to Moscow, in 1960, as a college student with one year of Russian language study under my belt, accompanying my anthropologist father to an international conference.

By August 1978, I was a Slavic-specialist librarian, spending three days in Leningrad to visit library exchange partners after a short research stay in Helsinki. Also on our agenda—my husband was with me—were visits with the families of some Jewish émigrés with whom I worked at the University of Illinois Library, and a visit with a Soviet colleague, L. M. Ravich, with whom I had corresponded about my research on the history of Russian bibliography.

Ravich and I began exchanging letters in the early 1970s, after I had become interested in the work of a number of Russian bibliographers, well known in the Soviet Union but hardly household names in the West. Ravich's name came up repeatedly in my research, as she was a prolific author in the field of book studies. (In 2003, on the occasion of her 80th birthday, a booklet about her was published in St Petersburg; the list of her published works runs to about 100 items, beginning in 1954, and she continued to publish until shortly before her death in 2006.) Her work on the bibliographer Grigorii Gennadi, of particular interest to me at the time I first wrote to Ravich, was typical of her style: elegant, concise, based solidly on archival research. She personified the Russian/Soviet tradition of scholarly work in book studies. Her students from the Leningrad Institute of Culture, several of whom I met in the course of the next thirty years, revered her, and it is, I am sure, due at least in part to her influence that some of these students became leaders in the field.

I wrote Ravich a fan letter, and received a lovely response, in Russian; she knew German well, but had no English, so someone had translated my letter. Thus began a lively correspondence and exchange of books and articles, leading up to that visit in 1978, the first of many meetings over the next three decades.

We met twice during my three days in Leningrad, first in her apartment and then in one of Leningrad's beautiful imperial gardens. Among many other things, I am grateful to Ravich for introducing me to an important feature of Soviet life, the infamous communal apartment. (Indeed, hers was the first home of any kind I visited in the Soviet Union.) She, her daughter Mari-

anna, and her granddaughter Katya shared a small room on the fifth floor (no elevator) of an old building in the picturesque 'Doestoevsky quarter', sharing kitchen and bathroom with several other families. The entry and stairwell were dirty, dark, and smelly, but the moment my husband and I entered the Ravich room we were enveloped in a wonderfully warm and welcoming family space, stuffed with heavy furniture and infused with good cooking smells: we were offered food that must have cost our hosts hours of scavenging among mostly empty store shelves and standing in queues for scarce food products. Hungry or not, we always ate at least a few bites, as to refuse would have been offensive, and I associate every subsequent visit to the Ravich household with abundant food purchased at a price I did not dare to dwell on.

Liubov' Moiseevna was proud of her service during the 'Great Patriotic War'—on that first visit she showed me her medals with evident emotion—and proud of her daughter, also a librarian, and her young granddaughter. She was proud too of her Jewish heritage; she came from a successful and substantial family. And she was proud of her accomplishments as a scholar; it was scholarship, hers and mine, that formed the basis of our friendship and the focus of our conversations over the years. She was delighted to find a young American scholar interested in the history of Russian bibliography, her passion, and loved to talk with me about her discoveries in the archives.

By 1978 I was already deeply into my own new passion, censorship in imperial Russia, and I wanted to talk with Ravich about it. I raised the topic, and I recall that she cut me off before I had said very much, and suggested another meeting, this time outdoors, ostensibly to show us the sights and take advantage of the lovely weather. Of course I realized immediately the mistake I had made: speaking of this sensitive topic inside a Soviet apartment had been unwise.

The next day, as we strolled under the trees, I told her about my research on the treatment of foreign publications in imperial Russia. She listened closely, and then told me soberly and frankly that I had chosen a difficult path indeed. I would not be allowed to pursue this topic in Soviet archives, she said; even though I was not touching on Soviet censorship, the subject was too close for comfort, and people might draw unwelcome comparisons between the Russian past and the Soviet present. I assured her that I wanted to continue my research, even if I had to rely on printed sources and materials available in the West. I remember that she sighed and shook her head, but did not attempt to dissuade me; rather, she offered to help me, and told me which archive to approach, and what to say in my letter. I followed her advice, and some months later received a terse reply; the materials I had requested were in an area в ремонте (under repair) and I would not be able to see them.

Through the years we continued to exchange careful letters, and to have careful conversations in the Ravich home. (After the collapse of the Soviet

Union we had the pleasure of visiting the family in their own apartment, which seemed unimaginably luxurious!) Liubov' Moiseevna's health continued to decline—she had a bad heart when I met her, and had problems of increasing severity as the years passed. I always brought her my articles and books, or sent them via colleagues, even though they were in English; she assured me that friends would help her to read them, and she sent her publications to me by mail. She always congratulated me (carefully in the '80s and openly in post-Soviet times), and wrote me a highly laudatory letter after reading the Russian translation of my book on imperial Russian censorship (*A Fence Around the Empire: Russian Censorship of Foreign Publications Under the Tsars*).

I valued my friendship and my collegial relationship with Liubov' Moiseevna Ravich more than I can say, and I mourn her passing. She was a fine and meticulous scholar, and a generous mentor. From her I learned my earliest lessons about the life of a scholar in the Soviet Union, and I shall never forget those lessons, or my teacher.

Index to *Solanus*, New Series, Volumes 11–20

Gregory Walker

This index covers the ten volumes of *Solanus* published between 1997 and 2006. An index to the first ten volumes of the New Series, compiled by the late J. S. G. Simmons, appeared in Volume 11 of the New Series (pp. 99–106). An index to the twenty volumes of the original series (1966–1985) was published in Volume 1 of the New Series (pp. 88–93).

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Reviews

Библиотека Ленина по воспоминаниям сотрудников

N. E. Dobrynina, *Soratriki moi, bibliotekari: polveka v Leninke*. Moskva, 'Pashkov Dom', 2004. 232 pp. ISBN 5-7510-0303-9. No price available.

N. I. Tiulina, *Ob'iasnenie v liubvi: vospominaniia bibliotekaria so schastlivoi sud'boi*. Moskva, 'Pashkov Dom', 2006. 319 pp. ISBN 5-7510-0369-1. No price available.

S. V. Zhitomirskaia, *Prosto zhizn'*. Moskva, ROSSPEN, 2006. 600 pp. Index. ISBN 5-8243-0749-0. No price available.

Пятнадцать лет, отделяющие нас от момента окончания советской эпохи, оказались достаточным периодом, чтобы породить волну мемуарных произведений о том времени. В библиотечном мире это проявилось в появлении почти одновременно трех книг воспоминаний сотрудниц бывшей Государственной библиотеки СССР имени В.И. Ленина. То, что именно Ленинская библиотека (ГБЛ, как ее называли сотрудники) породила эту волну воспоминаний, не случайно. 'Главная библиотека страны', символ советской библиотечной системы с падением советского строя пережила и собственный идеологический (в широком смысле этого слова) крах. Сегодня, носящая название 'Российская государственная библиотека', она уже является другим учреждением — и по духу и по структуре и, главное, по месту в идеологической системе нового государства. Тем интереснее посмотреть изнутри (а такую возможность могут дать только мемуары сотрудников), что представляла собой Ленинская библиотека в последние полвека своего существования; как реализовывала она свою миссию — официальную и ту, что отвечала реальным потребностям общества; что за люди, с какой культурной, идеологической, личной мотивацией обеспечивали функционирование этого огромного учреждения (в 1980-е годы в библиотеке работало более 3.5 тысяч человек).

Несколько слов об авторах воспоминаний.

Наталья Евгеньевна Добрынина — самая молодая и ныне здравствующая мемуаристка, происходит из интеллигентной старой дворянской семьи (ее мать — урожденная Станкевич), закончила восточное отделение филологического факультета МГУ. В ГБЛ пришла на работу в 1954 году и была направлена в Научно-методический кабинет библиотековедения, обеспечивавший методическую и идеологическую помощь библиотекам Советского Союза. Далее вся профессиональная

жизнь Н. Добрыниной была связана с работой в отделах, через которые 'главная библиотека страны' выполняла свою руководящую функцию — методическом, рекомендательной библиографии и научно-исследовательском (сектор социологии чтения). Н. Добрынина — доктор наук, автор более 200 профессиональных публикаций. Воспоминания охватывают период работы в ГБЛ с 1954 по начало 1970-х годов.

Наталия Ивановна Тюлина (1922-2003) — родилась в Ленинграде в семье технической интеллигенции (девичья фамилия — Одинг), пережила блокаду (страницы воспоминаний, посвященные блокадной жизни, заслуживают отдельного разговора, к сожалению, выходящего за рамки настоящей рецензии). Закончила английское отделение филологического факультета Ленинградского университета. В библиотеку Ленина поступила на работу в 1945 году и проработала с перерывами до начала 90-х годов. В ГБЛ работала в Справочно-библиографическом отделе, была его заведующей, руководила Научно-исследовательским отделом библиотековедения (сотрудником которого, кстати, была Н. Добрынина), была ученым секретарем Библиотеки, редактором журнала 'Библиотековедение и библиография за рубежом'. С 1970 по 1978 г. Н.И. Тюлина — директор библиотеки ООН в Нью-Йорке. Н. Тюлина — доктор наук, автор 78 публикаций, в том числе монографии 'Национальная библиотека. Опыт типологического анализа' (Москва, 1989). Центральная часть ее мемуаров, посвященная работе в ГБЛ, охватывает период с 1945 по 1969 г.

Сара Владимировна Житомирская (1916-2002) — родилась в состоятельной еврейской семье. Вместе с родными прошла все перипетии, характерные для жизни еврейской среды — погромы в годы Гражданской войны, открывшиеся с установлением советской власти возможности получить образование и, одновременно, почувствовать на себе все проблемы государственного антисемитизма. (Эту часть жизни автора, описанную в присущей ей блестящей манере, в рецензии опускаем). Сара Житомирская также поступила на работу в Библиотеку Ленина в 1945 г., имея за плечами окончание исторического факультета Московского университета и его аспирантуру. Все время до ухода на пенсию в 1978 г. проработала в одном отделе — Рукописей. Сначала научным сотрудником, затем (с 1952 по 1976 г.) заведующей, затем вновь рядовым работником. Была фактически уволена со своей должности и изгнана из Библиотеки из-за идейного конфликта с руководством Библиотеки, а, по сути, с новыми идеологическими настроениями и установками, утвердившимися в 70-е годы. Мемуары, посвященные ГБЛ, охватывают период с 1945 по 1990 годы (последние десятилетия — это взгляд на Библиотеку извне). Воспоминания во многом нелицеприятны по отношению к руководству Ленинки. Не случайно поэтому они выпущены

вне издательства Библиотеки 'Пашков дом'.

Итак, три молодые девушки из интеллигентных семей, выпускницы московского и ленинградского университетов пришли на работу в Библиотеку им. Ленина 'не надолго' — никто из них не собирался задерживаться здесь, имея свои творческие и научные планы, и остались здесь работать на всю оставшуюся жизнь. Всех их объединяет любовь к Библиотеке, преданность выбранной профессии. Все они вполне типичные представители советского поколения — среди них не было диссидентов, 'правила игры', предлагаемые властью, принимались ими как данность и протест вызывали только тогда, когда эти требования входили в противоречие с фундаментальными профессиональными ценностями. В ситуации с С.В. Житомирской этот конфликт принял драматический характер и закончился отстранением ее от должности руководителя и фактическим разгромом Отдела рукописей. К двум другим мемуаристкам вполне можно отнести их собственные слова: 'со счастливой судьбой'. Не оказываясь в серьезной конфликтной ситуации с системой, они готовы многое простить Библиотеке в ее идеологическом нажиме, считая, по выражению Н. Тюлиной, что это 'было нашей общей бедой'.

В рецензируемых мемуарах перед читателем проходит история библиотеки Ленина более чем за 50 лет. Представлен широкий круг лиц, работавших в Библиотеке — в трех книгах упомянуто 229 сотрудников. Мы можем увидеть, чем жила Библиотека в сталинскую эпоху (1945-1956 г.), в 'оттепель' (1956 — 1960-е годы) и брежневский 'застой'.

Пятидесятые годы в Ленинке, как и во всей стране, время суровое. Все мемуаристы вспоминают свой страх перед минутным опозданием на работу, 'тетрадь обеденных перерывов', где надо было отмечать время, затраченное на обед (Н. Добрынина), внутренний контроль со стороны бдительных коллег (Н. Добрынина вспоминает, как ей запрещали читать на рабочем месте беллетристические произведения, которые ей надо было отрецензировать, а Н. Тюлина — недовольство начальства ее длительной работой с книгами в фонде, а не на рабочем месте, и многое другое). Все это дает нам представление о порядках, царивших в это время. Руководство Библиотекой было в соответствующих руках. Фактический руководитель Библиотеки — заместитель директора Феоктиста Сергеевна Абрикосова, 'железная леди Ленинки' (Н. Тюлина) была воплощением этого стиля. 'Вне стен библиотеки — веселая, смешливая, не лишенная женского тщеславия и обаяния . . . в библиотеке Ф.С. Абрикосова возникала с плотно сжатыми губами и леденящим взглядом прозрачно-серых глаз, делавшим ее похожей на фанатичную старообрядку, без проявления каких бы то ни было эмоций, кроме гнева. Она была убеждена, что подчиненных надо держать на почтительном

расстоянии и в узде' (Н. Тюлина). 'Умная, но ледяная дама вызывала у подчиненных при общении липкий страх' (Н. Добрынина). Во всех мемуарах упоминаются и такая влиятельная фигура, как начальник отдела кадров 'свято верившая в классовую борьбу' П.В. Потапова.

Но это время было и временем, когда на одной территории ГБЛ сошлись и работали представители самых разных слоев общества. На страницах мемуаров мы встречаем бывших профессиональных революционеров, соратников Ленина и Крупской и 'рядовых бойцов Партии', сохранивших преданность идеям революции и стремящихся следовать им в жизни. Но их время уже заканчивалось — это видно и из отношения к ним молодого поколения, часто иронического (Н. Тюлина приводит прозвище одной из таких сотрудниц — 'бабушка русской революции'), и из самого их поведения. Значительная часть их, особенно профессиональные революционеры, прошла через репрессии, 'чистки' и другие унижения и сознательно отделили себя от окружающего мира (такой предстает в мемуарах Н. Добрыниной библиоковед А.Г. Кравченко — 'я никогда не видела ее просто общающейся с коллегами и не могу вспомнить, улыбалась ли она').

Одновременно, в Библиотеке работают яркие представители дореволюционной интеллигенции, высокообразованные люди — выпускники российских и иностранных университетов, Бестужевских женских курсов, знающие по несколько иностранных языков (что особенно поражало молодое советское поколение, выросшее в закрытой стране). Эти люди находились на рядовых должностях, в силу понятных причин не были заметны в общественной жизни библиотеки, но своим отношением к работе, стремлением делиться знаниями и своим примером оказывали заметное воздействие на внутренний климат коллективов, в которых работали. Мы можем это видеть в описании быта Кабинета библиоковедения (Н. Добрынина), в жизни Отдела рукописей (С. Житомирская). Более того, в таких отделах, как Отдел рукописей, не связанных напрямую с библиотечной технологией и 'идеологической работой', и где всегда испытывалась необходимость в высокопрофессиональных кадрах, их влияние было определяющим и фактически нейтрализовало общее идеологическое давление. Благодаря воспоминаниям С. Житомирской мы понимаем, как это могло происходить — в послевоенные годы в отделе еще работает археограф Г.П. Георгиевский, пришедший в Отдел еще в 1890 г. и заведовавший этим отделом с 1903 по 1935 г., выпускница историко-филологического факультета Высших женских курсов Е.Н. Коншина. Возглавляет Отдел историк (когда-то закончивший кадетский корпус, затем Университет) П.А. Зайончковский. Традиции и принципы, приносимые ими в работу, создавали в Отделе (до определенного времени, наступившего уже в

брежневскую эпоху) сплоченный коллектив, который сознательно шел 'в автономное плавание', поступаясь какими-то внешними вещами, мимикрируя, чтобы делать то, что считают нужным (например, эпизод, когда П.А. Зайончковский убеждает С. Житомирскую вступить в КПСС для того, чтобы сделать ее заместителем заведующего отделом, иначе 'навяжут какого-нибудь монстра ... и конец всему, что мы затеваем и делаем'). Может быть, благодаря этому осознанию своего пути, отстраненному взгляду на события, именно мемуары С. Житомирской дают наиболее точную и подробную картину того, как проходили через Библиотеку волны политических кампаний конца 40-х — начала 50-х годов: Постановление о журналах 'Звезда' и 'Ленинград', борьба с космополитизмом, дело врачей, 70-летие Сталина.

Наконец, молодое, уже родившееся в советское время, поколение. Неся в себе весь комплекс представлений о мире, воспитанный советским строем, они, тем не менее, уже не были похожи на революционное поколение. Эпоха репрессий, затем Отечественная война сделали их другими. В них уже нет некоторых иллюзий, есть готовность к переменам. К этой группе принадлежали наши мемуаристки и те, кто позднее вошел в число людей, определявших направление перемен хрущевского времени. Назовем нескольких, которые упомянуты во всех трех книгах: будущие неформальные лидеры Библиотеки — В.Д. Стельмах, Л.М. Инькова и входившие позднее в руководство Библиотеки — Т.Л. Постримова (ученый секретарь), Н.Н. Соловьева (заместитель директора), В.М. Владимирова (секретарь парткома).

В период 'оттепели' наши авторы были уже заметными фигурами в Ленинской библиотеке. Сфера их деятельности не ограничивалась только внутренними проблемами ГБЛ. Интересный материал для анализа ситуации в библиотечном мире того времени предоставляет Н. Добрынина (как методист, а затем исследователь-социолог, много ездившая по стране), о переменах в литературной и научной среде пишет С. Житомирская, о внутренних проблемах ГБЛ — Н. Тюлина.

'Оттепель' пришла в Библиотеку Ленина с задержкой почти в 10 лет. Слишком велика и консервативна была Библиотека, слишком сильно организация управления и ее структура были связаны с уходящей эпохой, чтобы процессы либерализации, охватившие страну, стали сразу влиять на ее деятельность. Даже назначение нового директора И.П. Кондакова в 1959 г. не изменило ситуацию — по-прежнему фактическое руководство оставалось за упомянутой выше Ф. Абрикосовой.

Новая демократическая эпоха ознаменовалась в жизни ГБЛ появлением такой фигуры, как Оган Степанович Чубарьян — сначала в качестве заместителя директора Библиотеки по науке (с 1963 г.), затем фактического ее директора (официально — 'исполняющего

обязанности' с 1969-1972 гг.). Ни о ком, с таким единодушием и так высоко оценивая его личные и деловые качества, не пишут наши мемуаристки в своих воспоминаниях, как об О. Чубарьяне. С его приходом Библиотека ощутила не просто новые веяния — появилась реальная возможность для творчества, изменилась структура библиотеки. В частности, О. Чубарьян создал Научно-исследовательский отдел библиотековедения, который возглавила Н. Тюлина и в котором работала Н. Добрынина. К сожалению, 'оттепель' в стране уже заканчивалась. Так и не утвержденный официально в должности директора О.С. Чубарьян в 1972 г. был смещен Н.М. Сикорским и еще только 3 года до своей кончины проработал в ГБЛ заместителем директора. 'Золотой век Чубарьяна' (по выражению Н. Добрыниной) в Библиотеке — это время, когда максимально раскрылись энергия, энтузиазм и творческие возможности того поколения, к которому принадлежали авторы мемуаров. Но нельзя не отметить, и это очень заметно читателю мемуаров, что Библиотека Ленина, как организация в своей идеологической ригидности по сути оставалась прежней. Принимая их как данность, мемуаристы как бы попутно рассказывают о случаях, ярко характеризующих эту ситуацию, включающую контроль за читателем (участие Житомирской в цензорской группе, у нее же — рассказ о 'политконтролере' научного читального зала — 'бабе Дусе', известной всей библиотеке своей бдительностью, об этом же у Тюлиной в главе 'На страже идеологического порядка'), чистки фондов от идеологически вредной литературы (Житомирская, Тюлина), жесткая административная иерархия (Тюлина) и многое другое. Познакомившись с этим материалом, становится ясно, почему так легко в брежневскую эпоху Библиотека утратила то новое, что было завоевано, и вернулась к старой охранительно-идеологической модели своей деятельности. Хотя, надо признать, что все описываемое было характерно и для всей страны.

Эпоха 1970-х годов подробно описана только в воспоминаниях С. Житомирской. Н. Тюлина в это время работает в Библиотеке ООН (чему и посвящена соответствующая часть ее мемуаров). Н. Добрынина не стала описывать время, последовавшее за уходом из жизни О.С. Чубарьяна. Можно предположить, что то настроение, в котором написаны ее мемуары, некоторая их восторженность, не очень подходили бы к описанию дальнейших событий, хотя Сектор книги и чтения, в котором до середины 1980-х годов работала Н. Добрынина (могу сказать, как очевидец), еще долгие годы оставался оазисом свободы во все более окаменевавшей структуре Библиотеки.

Мемуары С. Житомирской на одном конкретном примере — судьбе Отдела рукописей — ярко показывают, как действовал государственный механизм в сфере культуры, какие идеологические

символы использовались в борьбе за власть, и что было действенным в этих условиях. Ситуация, когда интеллектуально независимый коллектив, ведущий высоко профессиональную работу, подвергается разгрому с использованием тяжелой артиллерии идеологических обвинений (сотрудничество с Западом, идеологические ошибки), нежелание руководителей Библиотеки, понимающих проблему, помочь отделу и бессилие перед используемыми идеологами тех людей, которые хотели бы помочь, — все это ярко характеризует общую ситуацию в стране. Нам не встречалось до сих пор мемуаров, которые с такой точностью, конкретностью и яркостью иллюстрировали бы стороннему наблюдателю то, что происходило в Советском Союзе в 1970-е — начале 80-х годов.

Нельзя не сказать о некоторой дополнительной, но важной информации, присутствующей в рецензируемых изданиях. Мемуары С. Житомирской предваряет прекрасная обстоятельная статья ее коллеги и соратника, известного историка литературы и архивиста Мариэтты Чудаковой 'О роли личности в истории России XX века', которая вводит публикуемые мемуары в контекст общих тенденций культурной жизни этого времени и дополняет их своими воспоминаниями. Дополнения к мемуарам есть и в книге Н. Тюлиной. Это воспоминания о Тюлиной людей, работавших или знакомых с ней. В значительной части это тоже рассказ о Библиотеке Ленина.

Не сомневаемся, что книги, о которых шел наш рассказ, будут интересны и полезны каждому, кого интересует история Библиотеки Ленина и, шире, история российского (тогда — советского) общества, раскрытая в ее внутренних механизмах и характерных деталях.

Михаил Афанасьев

*Государственная Публичная Историческая
библиотека (Москва)*

A. V. Blum, *Kak eto delalos' v Leningrade: Tsenzura v gody ottepli, zastoia i perestroiki 1953–1991*. St Petersburg, 'Akademicheskii proekt', 2005. 296 pp. Notes. Name Index. Index of periodicals, almanacs and miscellanies. No price indicated.

This monograph completes Arlen Blum's magnificent trilogy of books on censorship in Russia from the beginning to the end of the misnamed 'Soviet' period. (Especially after about 1920 the Councils in Russia had far less power and influence than had councils in many capitalist and more open societies.) This concluding volume concentrates on materials relating to Leningrad, in part because practically all the archive materials about the work of the Moscow

City and many other local censorship bodies have been deliberately destroyed as not having, in the view of the censors themselves in the early 1990s, any scholarly or historical value (pp. 7, 9, 102, 103). Even the archives of the All-Union censorship organization, the USSR *Glavlit*, are very incomplete. Access to many Russian archives has, of course, become much more difficult of late, especially since President Putin began to head the latest 'vertical axis of power' in 2000. The allusion to Isaak Babel' in the title of the book under review makes one hope that some Ukrainian scholars are studying the records of the local offices of *Glavlit* in cities such as Odesa, Kyiv and L'viv.

It is very difficult to estimate how many censors there were in the USSR as a whole or in the Leningrad area in particular (Blium unfortunately uses the terms *Lengorlit* and *Lenoblgorlit* interchangeably, e.g. on p. 201) at any particular time between 1953 and 1991. It looks as though there were, altogether, 6,708 full-time censors on the payroll of *Glavlit* in 1954–1955, only 305 of them in the head office in Moscow, plus some 4,273 others working only part-time in this capacity. However, Blium (p. 14) thinks that the actual number would be much greater if one included the staff of the separate military censorship, officials working periodically on the 'control' of the written and spoken word in Communist Party and security organizations, and *Glavlit* plenipotentiaries attached to (and apparently paid by) publishing houses, newspapers, periodicals, and radio and television stations. By the end of the 1980s there were some 80 to 90 people working in the Leningrad Directorate of *Glavlit* (its addresses are not given, but for a while it was housed in part of Vladimir Nabokov's family's home), but the author estimates that in the *oblast'* as a whole about 500 to 600 people were involved in prepublication and post-publication control (p. 26). Presumably the number of *Glavlit* employees gradually increased during the post-Stalin period—Blium states that over a thousand people were employed in *Glavlit*'s head office in 1988 (p. 238).

Particularly striking for me in the numerous quotations from internal *Glavlit* documents is the frequency with which the words *tsenzor*, *tsenzura* (and occasionally *tsenzorskii*) are used. Blium does not point out here that in the original Statutes of *Glavlit* (1922) the word *tsenzura* is used throughout and the word *kontrol'* never appears, whereas in the later version of these Statutes (1931) *kontrol'* is always used and the word *tsenzura* never puts in an appearance. This made it possible for loyal Soviet citizens to insist—truthfully, in a way—that there was no censorship in the USSR. In the very important epilogue to this volume (pp. 247–259), Blium mentions that the 1993 Russian Constitution forbids censorship, but he shows that there are plenty of other ways of 'controlling' what can be put into the public domain. Censorship is one of many terms that are difficult to define.

The bulk of this indispensable work sheds much-needed light on exactly how the media, publishing houses, printing works, libraries, second-hand

bookshops, museums, art exhibitions, concerts, theatres, literary journals, almanacs, miscellanies, and works of and about literature were controlled. *Samizdat* and *tamizdat* publications were also, of course, closely monitored by *Glavlit* (as well as by its much bigger sister organization, the KGB), as were books and periodicals posted to Soviet citizens from abroad. We learn many curious details from this account. For instance, parcels of foreign scholarly books addressed to Academicians Zhirmunskii and Likhachev were diverted to a very special section of the Academy of Sciences' Library, and these scholars normally had to go there to read them (pp. 186–187). Another academic, Vladimir Malyshev, needed an article in an issue of *The Slavonic and East European Review*. *Lenobllit* allowed the library of Pushkin House, where Malyshev worked, to cut out the item he required, and then the rest of the issue was written off for special recycling (*ostal'noe spisano v spetsmakulaturu*), according to the report (p. 191). Sometimes the verb *omakulaturit'* was used (p. 70). Among other interesting details there is one concerning archivists, who were and are paid extra—a sort of 'danger money'—if they handled or handle secret materials. Perhaps this is one reason why declassification of the contents of some Russian archives is going ahead so slowly (p. 28)? Those who have seen the wonderful Georgian film *Blue Mountains* may not realise that one device used to prevent, or at least delay for years, the publication of a suspicious novel was to *gnat' zaitsa dal'she* ('drive the hare further away') by sending the typescript to an almost endless series of internal reviewers for their comments (p. 46; other clever devices are described on the following pages). Nothing, it seems, was overlooked. The book for reactions by visitors to any exhibition had to have detachable (*s"emnye*) and unnumbered pages so that any politically incorrect responses could easily and quickly be removed without trace (p. 75). One hexagonal rubber-stamp on a book meant that it had to go into the *spetskhran* (special collections), but two hexagonal rubber-stamps on the appropriate page meant that the book was doubly dangerous and had to be placed in a special section within the *spetskhran*. This was known in the profession as 'applying two hex nuts' (*postavit' dve gaiki/shaiby*) (p. 88). Even lecture notes had to be 'controlled' by customs officers when students were taking them abroad (p. 88), and when a book was rebound *Glavlit* was supposed to check the words on the new cover (p. 50).

Despite the author's painstaking work over a long period of time, there are still important gaps in our knowledge of the almost total censorship and control imposed in Russia by the then 'vertical axis of power' on its subjects, and we know even less about the situation in the other Union Republics. The author concentrates on belles-lettres, and even his coverage of theatrical censorship is minimalist. I hope in particular that a younger scholar (or group of scholars) will in due course produce a monograph on *Glavrepertkom*, the agency covering public cultural events that was subordinated to *Glavlit* until

1936, when it was transferred to the Committee for the Affairs of the Arts. But thanks to Blium's determination, stamina and industriousness, students of the ideological control mechanisms in the USSR will always be in his debt.

Martin Dewhurst

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P. N. Bazanov (ed.), *Izdatel'stva i izdatel'skie organizatsii russkoi emigratsii, 1917–2003: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik*. St Petersburg, FormaT, 2004. 336 pp. ISBN 5-98147-017-8. No price available.

According to its preface, this reference guide covers any Russian establishment abroad (political parties, professional unions, religious and educational organisations, printers and booksellers, etc.) that has ever engaged in publishing between 1917 and 2003. Even though the specialised 'Russianist and Slavist publishers, as well as the Russian-language publishing houses of the peoples of Russia/the USSR, e.g. the Israeli, the Ukrainian and the Carpatho-Russian ones' (p. 3) are excluded, it is a rather ambitious undertaking, especially for a team of five (apart from Bazanov, the other researchers involved were S. S. Kremnev, T. V. Kuznetsova, I. A. Shomrakova—and N. E. Bastyreva, whose name is omitted from the list of authors both in the book description and in the preface, although she has contributed to the entry on the Sintaksis press on pp. 283–85).

Arranged in alphabetical order, the volume contains a significant amount of noteworthy information on: publishers specialising in naval and military history (such as Morskoe izdatel'stvo in San Francisco and Voennaia byl' in Paris); Orthodox Christian publishers (for example, Put' zhizni in New York and the St Job Pochaevsky press in Munich and Montreal); little-known publishers in East Asia (such as the Mongolian Expedition to Procure the Meat Supplies for the [Russian] Army in the Field, and the Manchukuo branch of the Union of Revisionist Zionists); as well as a considerable number of Russian nationalist publishers of various degrees of extremism (e.g. Golos Rossii in Sofia and *Russkoe slovo* in Buenos Aires).

Unfortunately, this useful information is difficult to retrieve, unless the reader literally leafs through every page in the book, because it has neither indexes nor even a table of contents. Furthermore, individual entries are unevenly balanced, ranging from the intriguingly laconic to the self-indulgently verbose. The unnecessarily detailed entries on political associations, such as Bratstvo Russkoi Pravdy, Vysshii Monarkhicheskii Sovet and Rossiiskaia fashistskaia partiia, are typical examples of the latter approach (see especially pp. 25–27, 49 and 235, replete with information on the organisations' struc-

ture and membership, which has little or no relevance to their publishing activities).

The laconic bits are represented not only by numerous five- or six-line entries on minor publishers that deserve more exposure than they get here (for the *Tvorchestvo* society, for example, even its location—presumably Shanghai—has not been supplied, p. 308), but also by glaring omissions, such as the first initials of the following members of the advisory board of the Plamja press in Prague: A. P. Fan-der-Flit, Miroslav Hýsek, A. V. Makletsov, Matija Murko, Jiří Polívka, M. A. Tsimmerman and E. L. Zubashev (p. 206).

The cross-reference system has been thought out rather poorly. Many separate entries are related, because they describe either consecutive enterprises of the same owner (such as Victor Kamkin's publishing houses on pp. 101–02 and 124), or a local branch of, and sometimes an alternative to, an international publishing body (such as the Zaria Press in Ontario, Canada, and the SBONR Press, pp. 71 and 82–91). Yet there are no explicit links in such entries to make it easier for the reader to connect them to one another. The almost verbatim duplication of material in the related entries (see pp. 96 and 100, 172–73 and 175–76) can hardly compensate for the absence of such links. (It is even harder to provide an excuse for the duplication of material in one and the same entry; see pp. 72–73, 76, 227–28, 254, 259, 284–85, 318.) In addition, several important terms and concepts, such as *sharovye aktsii* (leaflet distribution from air balloons), *solidarizm* (a school of thought, directly opposite to the class struggle theory and chiefly associated with Narodno-trudovoi soiuz), Liga (Liga bor'by za narodnuiu svobodu), OIMK (Obshchestvo izucheniia Manchzhurskogo kraia) and TsOPE (Tsentral'noe ob"edinenie poslevoennykh emigrantov) are explained not on their first appearance but much later (see pp. 34 and 168–69, 45 and 187, 83 and 118–22, 109 and 197–98, 313 and 321 respectively). The abbreviations UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) and KONR (Komitet osvobozhdeniia narodov Rossii), as well as the term *Kyowakai* (the Concordia association, formed by the Japanese in Hsin King in 1932, allegedly to promote multi-ethnic harmony in the Manchukuo Empire), do not appear to be explained anywhere at all.

The book abounds in misprints, most inconveniently in the instances of the alternative spellings of obscure surnames, when the reader is left to his/her own devices to establish which version is correct, Malyk or Malykh (pp. 124 and 133), Voshchinin or Vashchinin (p. 161), Ziberg or fon Ziberg, or perhaps fon Zinberg (pp. 171 and 179), Lodyzhinskii or Lodyzhenskii (p. 272), Lembich or Lembuch (pp. 321 and 323), Kaliuzhnyi or Koliuzhnyi (pp. 326 and 398) and so on. (Ironically, some of the predecessors and competitors of the Bazanov team are criticised for their misprints in the preface to the volume, see p. 8.)

For those responsible for the editing of the book, it will not be easy to avoid accusations of semi-literacy, as frequent mistakes in gender, number and case agreement can be cited, not to mention copious examples of erratic punctuation (*passim*), the wrong word order (pp. 41, 50, 80, 116, 178, 183, 195, 224, 232–34, 236, 239, 251, 254, 272 and 293) and the indiscriminate use of the verb *imet'* (see pp. 37, 39, 63, 64, 225, 243, 321). It is not even clear if the editors are sufficiently familiar with the order of the Cyrillic alphabet: the entry on the Paramonov Booksellers is firmly placed between those on Ob"edinenie rossiiskikh narodnikov and the Okno Press (pp. 201–02).

It seems that Bazanov's request to the academic community to be lenient to the book's shortcomings, as well as his promise to produce a whole series of similar reference guides (made in the preface, p. 13), needs no further comment.

Andrei Rogachevskii

University of Glasgow

Russkaia emigratsiia: zhurnaly i sborniki na russkom iazyke, 1981–1995: svodnyi ukazatel' statei, edited by O. T. Bigar, T. L. Gladkova and T. A. Osorgina. Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'études slaves, t. 80/2. Paris, Institut d'études slaves. Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2005. 346 pp.

The last fifteen years have seen an explosion of books and articles devoted to the Russian émigré experience. While historical and literary studies predominate, many others have emerged as well. Not only is there the 'old' émigré world being studied, but also the new one created by the significant numbers of Russians living in formerly Communist but now newly independent states. Whether past or present, the need to collect and study their printed materials remains a constant. Works devoted to many aspects of Russian émigré bibliography continue to appear. The volume under review is part of this continuing effort.

This volume is a supplement to T. L. Gladkova and T. A. Osorgina's *L'émigration russe: revues et recueils, 1920–1980: index général des articles* (Paris, 1988). This supplement is quite faithful to the original in format, but it is much narrower in scope. It covers 17 journals and almanacs, while the earlier volume dealt with 40 journals and 16 anthologies. Nonetheless, it encompasses an estimated 8,000 entries. It also includes a section of obituaries, book reviews and a name index, among others.

While we must acknowledge the efforts of the editors, it is clear that their approach and work is outdated. They clearly did not consider their audience when creating this book. A lack of numbered entries and no subject index are indications of this. The greatest problems rest with the name index. Since

the entries are unnumbered, the name index directs the user to the page on which the name appears. This situation is further complicated by the manner in which the entry is presented. The author, title, journal issue and year are indicated, pagination is not. For those with a particular journal in hand, this is an unnecessary nuisance, while for those working without access to the journal, it is a burden, entailing more work and making interlibrary loan much more difficult. A further problem rests with the choice of journals covered. While all are established publications, not included are journals like *Slovo/Word* (New York), *Veche* (Munich), *Dvadtsat' Dva* (Israel) and *Simvol* (Paris), all of which were established during the 1981–1995 period.

Given the weaknesses discussed above, there is little to recommend in this new publication. Problem-filled in so many ways, it has an almost antique look and feel, reminiscent of many old émigré publications. The Russian publishing world has changed dramatically in the last fifteen years, a fact unfortunately missed by the editors of this book.

Mark Kulikowski

State University of New York at Oswego

Elena Dergacheva-Skop and Vladimir Alekseev, *Rukopisnye i pechatnye knigi kirillovskoi traditsii XVI–XX vekov iz sobraniia Arkadiia Grigor'evicha Elfimova*. Novosibirsk, 2006. 928 pp. Illustrations. Index.

A 928-page catalogue of Russian manuscripts and early or rare printed books, published in Novosibirsk, illustrated with 270 colour plates, rubricated throughout, and with a personal jubilee dedication in a lapidary inscription on the first page beneath an early-printed book headpiece, is not the sort of tribute that many English scholars can expect, or are likely to deserve. But John Simmons was not an ordinary English scholar—his talent for friendship and his enormous erudition in so many fields which he shared so readily and generously made him lasting friends all over the world, and somehow this recognition does not seem at all inappropriate. John once wrote an article in which he discussed Dr Johnson's satisfaction, as recorded by Boswell, on being informed that he would be read 'on the banks of the Wolga'. A tribute from Siberia 'to the English Historian of the Book, and Friend' is a kind of analogy, and one which John, an ardent Johnsonian for all his adult life, would have noted with amusement and pleasure. I say 'would have', because in the event the book was, alas, to be a posthumous homage—John died in September 2005—and my review copy has a memorial plate pasted inside the front cover.

The book which was chosen as the vehicle for this tribute would certainly have pleased John. It is a very well-produced catalogue of the private collec-

tion of Arkadii Elfimov, book collector, patron, publisher, photographer and chairman of the charity Vozrozhdeniia Tobol'ska. He recently presented the collection to the Tiumen State University. The authors of the catalogue are two erudite Russian book historians with particular expertise in the field of Siberian Old Believer literature.

The Elfimov Collection contains fourteen manuscripts and forty-three printed books in *kirillitsa* (i.e. in the old-style fonts which preceded, or survived, the Petrine reform). The catalogue of the collection is large and lavish. Its descriptions and annotations are very full, with regard both to content and to codicology. There is detailed attention to paper and watermarks, which would have particularly pleased John Simmons, and there are indexes of names, works, incipits, and illustrations. The character of the collection is entirely religious (patristic, liturgical, polemic, millenarian) with a strong emphasis on Old Believer (especially *Beguny*) material. The 44-page introduction draws attention to the main points of interest in the collection and concludes rather charmingly with a colophon (p. 44) containing a prayer composed by the proofreaders at the Moscow Pechatnyi Dvor in 1651, praising God for allowing them to complete the work. I commend it to the editors of *Solanus*.

The oldest manuscript in the collection is a sixteenth-century folio menaion-triodion in semi-uncials; the remainder are mostly nineteenth-century Old Believer manuscripts, some with attractive headpieces or other decoration. Interesting points are a late nineteenth-century Old Believer manuscript with a version of the 'Kanon groznomu voevode' (p. 176) which D. S. Likhachev attributed to Ivan the Terrible, and a late nineteenth-century Old Believer *sbornik* containing an interesting list of punishable superstitions (p. 202), followed by a list of banned games, apparently a Russian addition to a *Zlatii biser* (*Lucidarius*).

The printed books include twelve seventeenth-century publications from the Moscow Pechatnyi dvor, one of which bears a handwritten donation inscription ending with a prayer that God should consign to eternal torment anyone who might remove, borrow, steal or sell the book (pp. 478–79—this sentiment the readers of *Solanus* will no doubt applaud), and two from Mahileu (Voshchanka press). There are eight eighteenth-century books, variously from Mahileu, Suprasl', Vilnius, Iași, L'viv, Hrodna and Pochaiv presses. The remaining books, from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are from various official Church and Old Believer presses, and include one illustrated and hand-coloured copy of the Apocalypse with commentaries of Andrew of Caesarea (Moscow, 1910). Ten of the books are psalters.

The book concludes with an article based on an interview with Arkadii Elfimov, who assembled this collection. Elfimov started collecting after reading a biography of Remezov, the great cartographer of Siberia and chronicler of its first Russian explorer Ermak, which sparked a fascination with the his-

tory of Siberia and in particular of its old capital of Tobol'sk. I think Arkadii Grigor'evich can be proud of this new monument of Siberian book culture.

W. F. Ryan

Warburg Institute

Most cherez okean: Sbornik statei o Slaviano-Baltiiskom otdele N'iu-Iorkskoi publichnoi biblioteki. Sostavitel': Elena Kogan. Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia nauchno-tekhnicheskaja biblioteka Rossii, 2005. 288 pp. Bibliography. ISBN 5-85638-098-3. No price available.

The New York Public Library is a singular institution in being both a public library in the Anglo-American sense and a *publichnaia biblioteka* in the Russian one.

This collection of articles (many of which are reprints) reveals something of the depth and richness of the collections and the diversity of the activities of its Slavic and Baltic Division which is the reference and research centre for Slavic and Baltic studies at the Library. Many of the articles are the work of staff members most notably Edward Kasinec, its present head, whose sixtieth birthday is the inspiration for some of them. There is a certain amount of overlap and repetition of content in some of the contributions which are in English or Russian. Although the Division's holdings contain materials in all the Slavic and Baltic languages this collection deals almost exclusively with Russian topics. The articles themselves are something of a mixed bag ranging from fairly brief notes and interviews to fuller scholarly pieces. They deal with the history of the Division, the character and types of collections, its co-operative activities and projects and some of the personalities who have helped to carry its work forward.

From its earliest days it attracted newly-arrived immigrants from Eastern Europe who streamed into New York and required materials in their own languages. An active lending service was in operation from the very beginning. Many famous immigrants and exiles were amongst its early readers—a somewhat reluctant Trotsky being dragged to the Library by Bukharin on his first day in New York. While the branch libraries of the Library are publicly funded, research divisions like the Slavic and Baltic one are much more dependent on attracting donors and sponsors. It seems, however, to have had considerable success in so doing and this permitted it to benefit enormously in the inter-war years from Soviet willingness to sell off book collections and other cultural treasures. On just one visit to the Soviet Union in 1923/4 the Division's third head Avrahm Yarmolinsky, was able to purchase some 9,000 volumes.

Articles covering the collections include contributions on the Division's rich harvest of books from the Russian imperial libraries while the Batkin, Pan-

tuhoff and Teteriatnikov collections are among those discussed separately. The Division's wealth of visual material, including the Solntsev water-colour collection, are also highlighted. Other articles feature uncommon personalities such as the mining engineer Wilhelm de Gennin and his pioneering work in the Urals, and the painter Pavel Svinin, who arrived in the United States as a diplomat in 1811 and later travelled through the country painting the American landscape.

The compiler notes in her introduction that the collection's being published in Russia is a symbol of the Division's various links with the Russian book world and this co-operative theme is emphasised in a number of articles. In particular the Division has always been alert to the value of foreign exchanges, the first exchange (with the Imperial Public Library) beginning as early as 1897, and they have been interrupted only by wars and revolution. Latterly co-operative activity has broadened to include specific inter-library agreements such as that of 1997 with the Russian National Library which has led to regular exchanges of experience and joint participation in exhibitions. A more personal approach is provided in a memoir by Marc Raeff and interviews with Edward Kasinec and his deputy Robert Davis.

This *sbornik* is intended for 'knigovedam, prepodavateliam distsiplin knigovedcheskogo tsikla, istorikam' and, provided they can get hold of one of the 200 copies printed, they should find that it provides a useful introduction to the Division's activities, collections and history. Being hitherto rather (shamefully) ignorant of the Slavic and Baltic Division I am now aware that it is one of the great centres for Slavic studies and I will certainly be keeping an eye on its website and the wealth of images in its digital gallery.

John Bowles

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Gerald Stone, *Slavonic Studies at Oxford: A Brief History*. Oxford, 2005. 33 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography.

No monograph has been written on the history of Slavonic studies and Slavonic libraries in Britain, but a number of scattered sources, mostly periodical articles, provide fascinating and valuable information, to which Gerald Stone's *malotirazhnyi* leaflet, in paper covers, held together by staples, is a welcome addition. Of the three largest centres of Slavonic Studies in Great Britain—the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the School of Slavonic Studies, University College London—Oxford has the longest and richest history. Stone's chronological account begins with a piece on 'the first Oxford Slavist', Richard James (1591–1638), who graduated from Corpus Christi College in 1611, and in 1618 sailed to Russia as chaplain with an

embassy from King James I to Tsar Mikhail Romanov, and closes with a brief account of the scholarly activity of the Oxford lecturer Timothy Binyon (1936–2004). There follows a succinct account of Slavonic libraries in Oxford. Some information on libraries and bibliographical work is also to be found in the section on J. S. G. Simmons (1915–2005), though it concentrates mainly on his editorial work on *Oxford Slavonic Papers*.

Very useful is Stone's list of sources (pp. 30–33) on Slavonic studies in Oxford, listing some fifty published works and four sections of Oxford archives, to which should be added Gregory Walker's memoir 'A Middle Englander Goes East' (published in *SEEIR*, vol. 5 (1/2), 2004, pp. 163–177), the interviews with J. S. G. Simmons in *Solanus*, vol. 20 (2006), and his papers, now divided between the archive of All Souls College, Oxford, and the Leeds Russian Archive.

Christine Thomas

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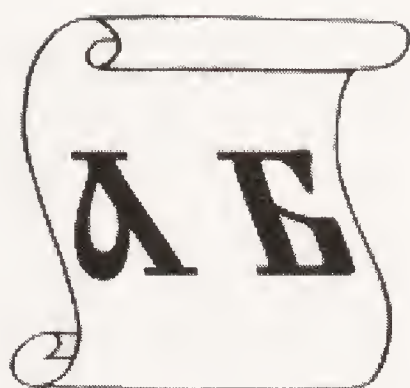
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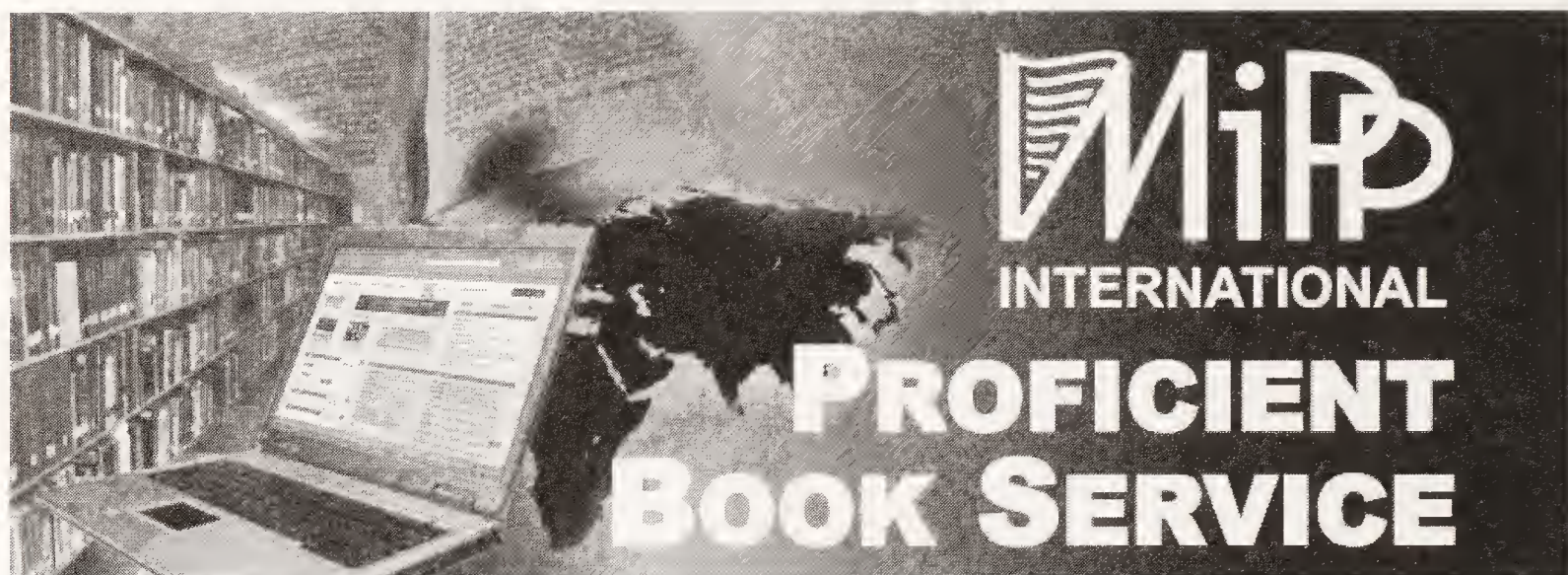
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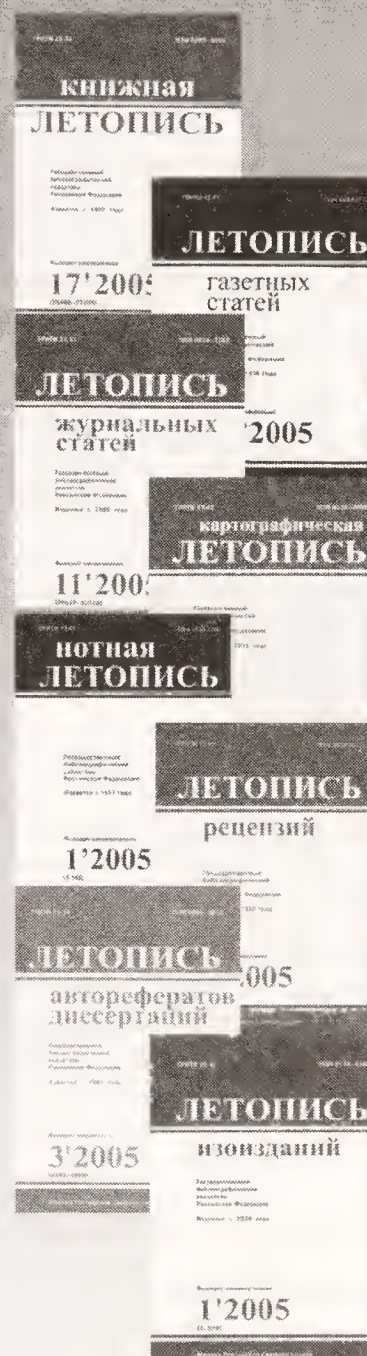
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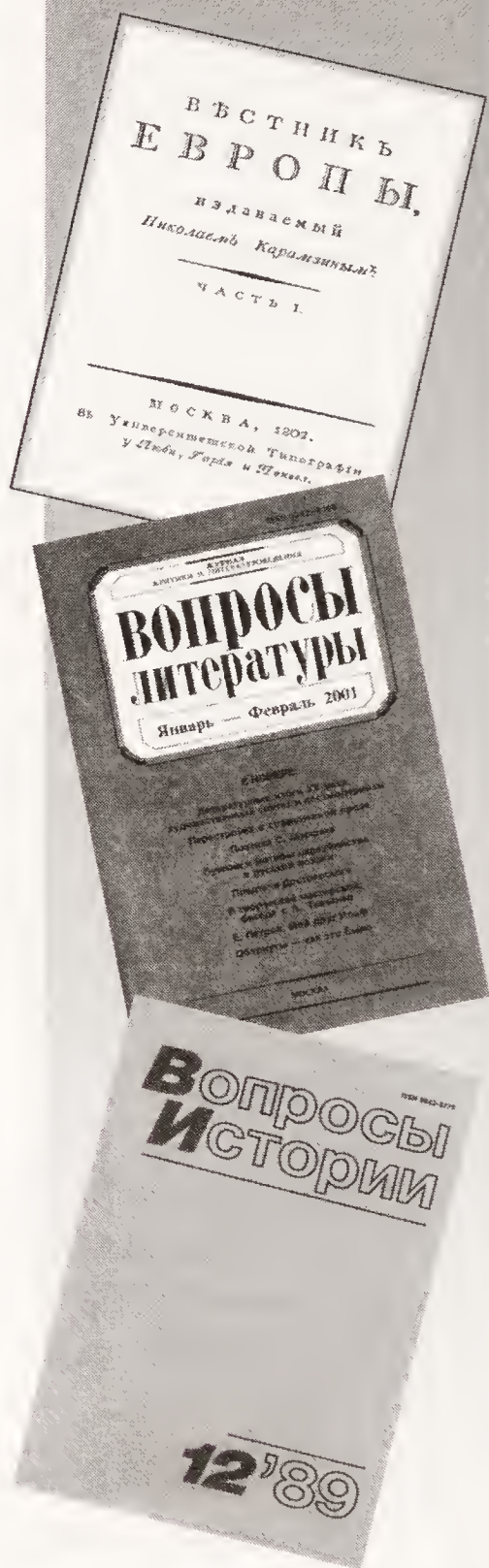
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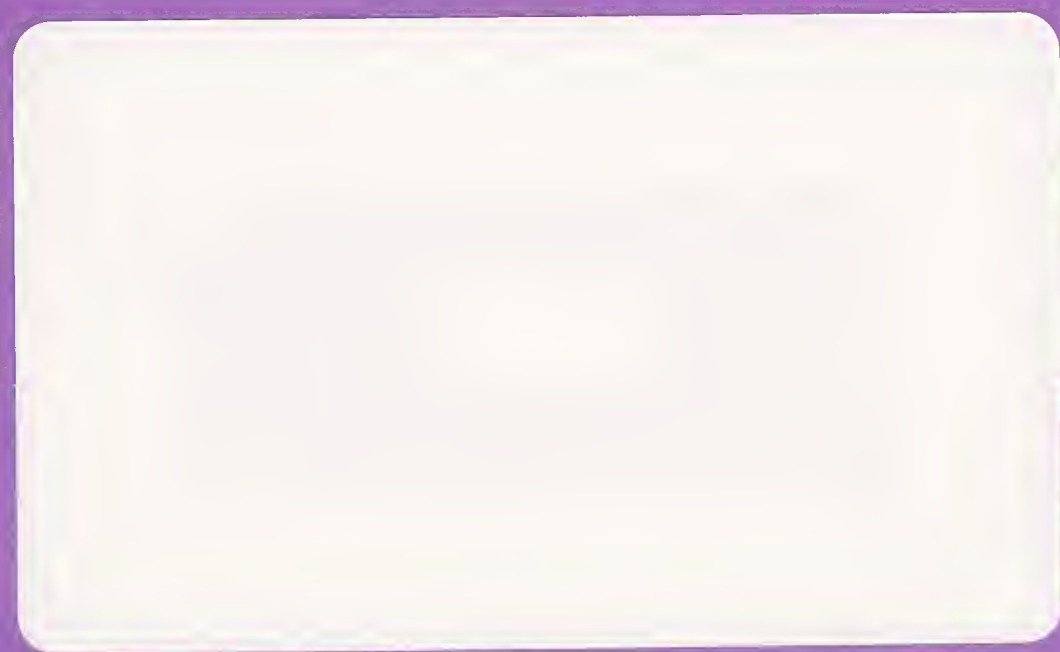
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